The background of the cover is a collage of classical art fragments. At the top left, there is a fragment of a classical head sculpture. To the right of this, in the orange band, are two fragments of classical eyes. In the middle orange band, to the left of the ampersand, are two fragments of classical masks. The text is overlaid on these bands in a white serif font.

# GREEK ETRUSCAN & ROMAN ART

*The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*









*Greek, Etruscan & Roman Art*

GARY P. DALEY

18 McAdams Rd.

FRAMINGHAM, MASS

01701

*Frontispiece: 6. Gold and ivory Snake Goddess from Crete; ca. 1600-1500 B.C. (14.863)*





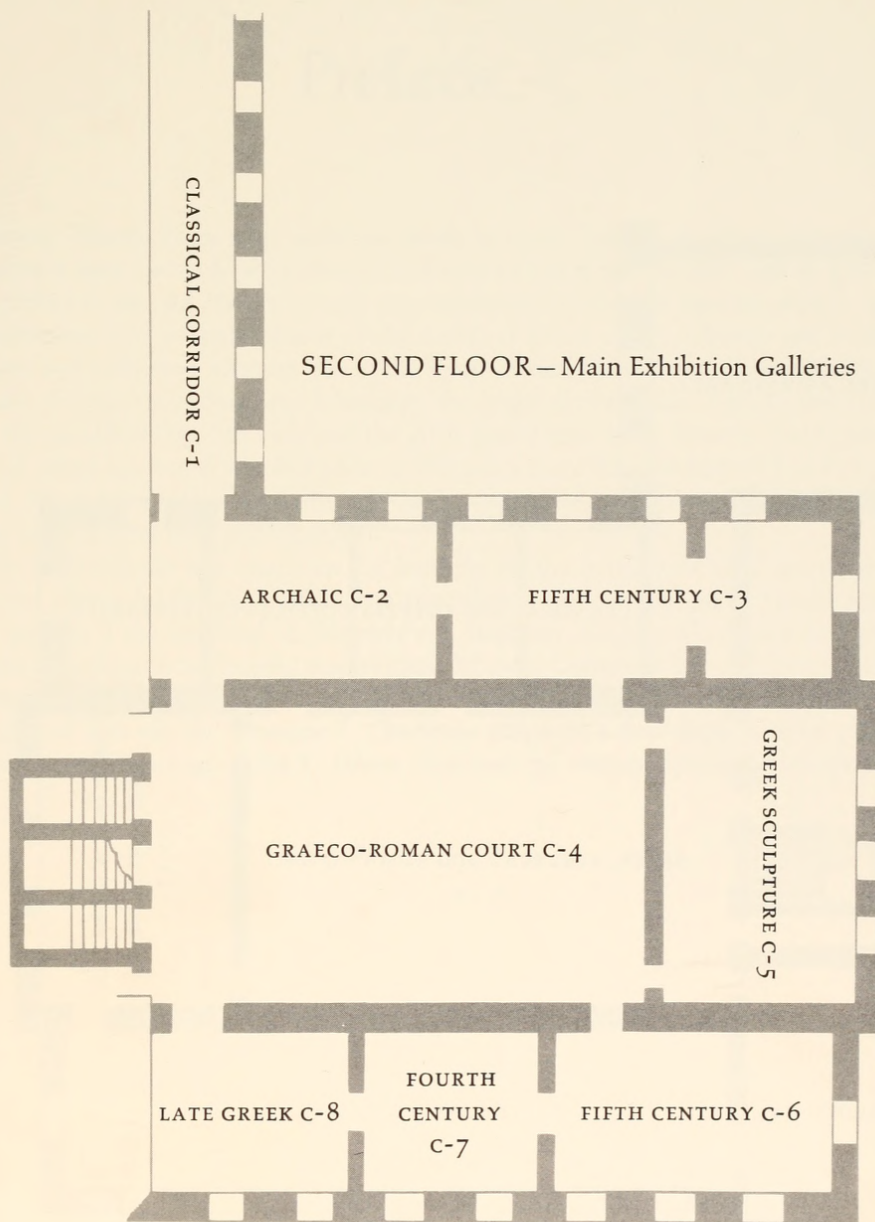
GREEK  
ETRUSCAN  
& ROMAN  
ART

*The Classical Collections  
of the Museum of Fine Arts,  
Boston 1963*

FIRST EDITION 1950 BY GEORGE H. CHASE  
REVISED WITH ADDITIONS 1963 BY CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

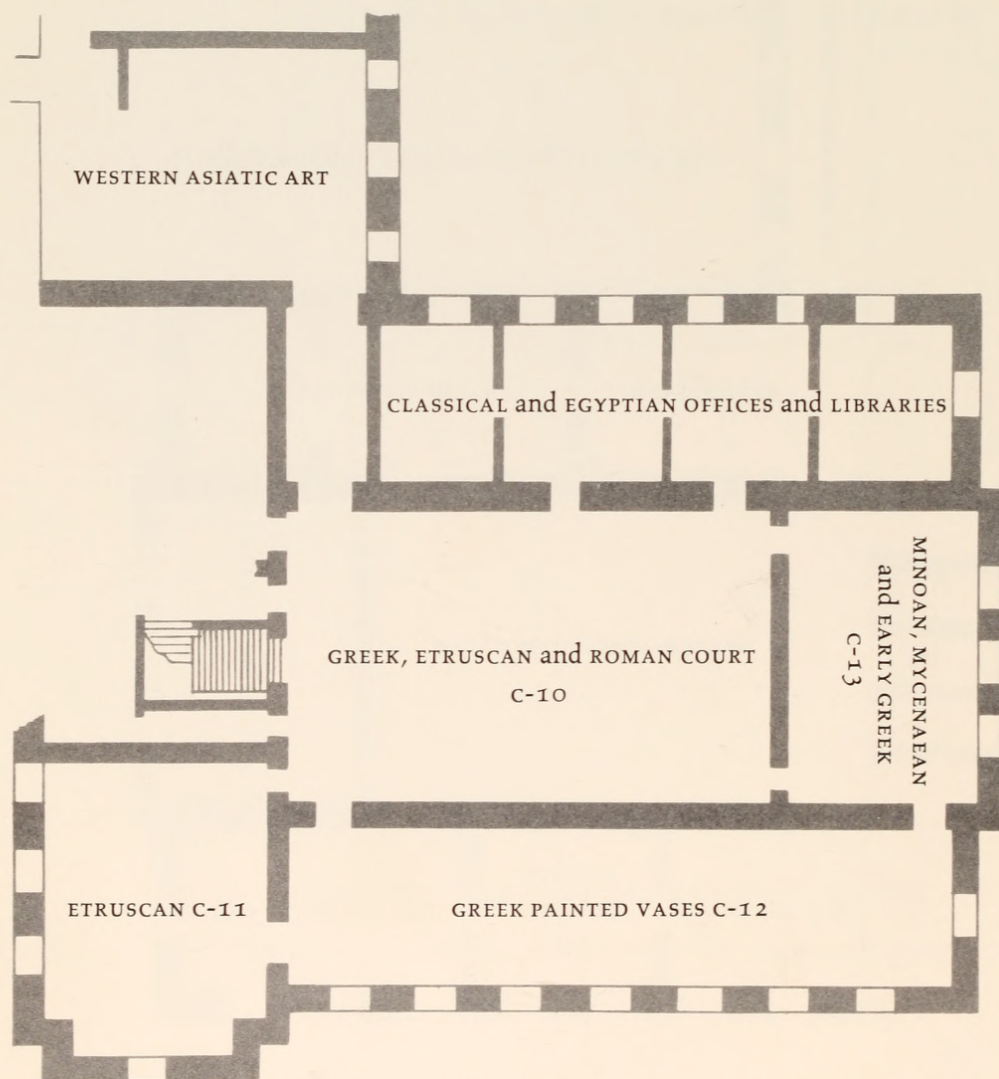
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PLAN OF THE CLASSICAL COLLECTION





FIRST FLOOR — Additional Exhibits of all Periods



## Preface

AS acting Curator from 1945 until his death in 1952, George H. Chase not only wrote a new *Guide to the Classical Collection* (1950) but revised Arthur Fairbanks's *Greek Gods and Heroes* (1948) and published articles on specific objects in the Department. The present edition of the *Guide* is based on Dr. Chase's text with alterations and additions. Objects not in the 1950 edition include recent acquisitions and works of longer standing which broaden the scope of the *Guide*. Certain objects, such as the so-called Dipylon vase and the Attic grave stele from Boeotia, have been cleaned or taken apart and restored anew in the years since the last edition was being prepared. The bibliographies have been brought up to date, and Edward J. Moore has prepared a number of new photographs.

Emily T. Vermeule has rewritten the sections on the prehistoric civilizations of Greece and Crete. Adolph S. Cavallo has contributed the description of Greek and Roman textiles. I am indebted to Dietrich von Bothmer, George M. A. Hanfmann, and Herbert Hoffmann for helpful suggestions. Mary B. Comstock has collaborated in the editorial work and in assembling new material. Carl F. Zahn is responsible for the new design of this edition. Suzanne E. Chapman prepared a new departmental plan and several new drawings. Julia T. Green arranged the manuscript for publication.

# Periods of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art

CRETE		GREECE	CYCLADES
Early Neolithic	4000-3500	Prepottery and Early Neolithic ca. 6000-4500	
Middle "	3500-3200	Neolithic A (Sesklo) ca. 4500-3300	
Late "	3200-2700	Neolithic B (Dimini) ca. 3300-2700	
Early Minoan	I 2700-2500	Early Helladic I ca. 2700-2500	Early Cycladic ca. 3000-2000
" "	II 2500-2200	" " II ca. 2500-2300	
" "	III 2200-1900	" " III ca. 2300-2000/1900	
Middle Minoan	I 1900-1800/1700	Middle Helladic I-III ca. 1900-1600	Middle Cycladic ca. 2000-1600
" "	II 1800-1700		
(Knossos and Phaistos)			
" "	III 1700-1580	Late Helladic I-II ca. 1600-1425	Late Cycladic ca. 1600-1100
Late Minoan	I ca. 1580-1450	IIIA ca. 1425-1300	
(Knossos only)	(II) ca. 1480-1400	IIIB ca. 1300-1230/1200	
" "	III ca. 1400-1100	IIIC ca. 1230-1100	
Subminoan	1100-950?	Submycenaean 1100-950?	

ITALY

THE GREEK EAST

GREECE (including CRETE, etc.)







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# The Classical Collection

THE Classical Collection, like the other collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, has grown to its present size through the efforts of many people. In the early days the Trustees, having very few funds for purchases, depended almost entirely on gifts or bequests from interested citizens of Boston. Among the names that appear most frequently as donors between 1870 and 1890 are: Francis Amory, Thomas G. Appleton, Edward Austin, Henry J. Bigelow, Martin Brimmer, Benjamin W. Crowninshield, John James Dixwell, Alfred Greenough, Henry P. Kidder, Charles C. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, C. Granville Way. From the Egypt Exploration Fund, also, in recognition of financial support by citizens of Boston, many interesting works of minor art were received as gifts, especially a large collection of vases and fragments from the Greek colony of Naukratis in Egypt.

Among the rare acquisitions not due to gift or bequest are the purchase in 1872 from General di Cesnola of a comparatively large collection of antiquities from Cyprus (mostly vases and terracottas) and the receipt in 1884 of sculptures, inscriptions, and works of minor art from the excavations conducted by the Archaeological Institute of America at Assos in the Troad in 1880 and 1881.

In 1885 Edward Robinson was appointed Curator in Classical Archaeology, and two years later a Department of Classical Archaeology was formally established. Mr. Robinson immediately began to urge upon the Trustees the importance of acquiring original works of art, especially sculpture and vases, and in 1888, with the help of Professor Rodolfo Lanciani, whose interest in the Museum had been aroused when he came to Boston to lecture in 1887, a number of marble heads and portrait busts, as well as selected terracottas, bronzes, vases, and coins from Italy were purchased. But it is perhaps significant that Robinson's first publication for the Museum was a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Greek and Roman Sculpture*, which was issued in 1887, and frequently reprinted, with supplements, until 1914. Only in 1893 did he venture to publish his *Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases* which with its 623 entries, together with the description of 260 fragments from Naukratis, bears eloquent witness to the growth of the collection up to that time.

In 1895 began what may fairly be called the "great age" in the development of the Department. In that year, Mr. Edward Perry Warren, who had earlier shown

his interest in the Museum by numerous gifts and loans, began to devote much of his time to the acquisition in Europe of objects of high quality which would best supplement the existing collection, and to offer them for purchase to the Trustees. In this task he was ably assisted by his friend, Mr. John Marshall. During this period, also, several large gifts of money, some restricted to the purchase of classical antiquities, were received. Especially noteworthy were the Catherine Page Perkins Fund (1895), the Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (1898), and the Francis Bartlett Fund (1900). The report of the Director for the year 1911 contains an interesting summary of the growth of the Museum collections, in which it is recorded that in the ten years from 1895 to 1904, 4,096 objects were added to the Classical Collection, mainly by purchase. These included ninety-six pieces of sculpture, more than thirteen hundred Greek coins, and many vases, bronzes, terracottas, and gems.

In 1905 Mr. Robinson resigned, and in 1907 another classical scholar, Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, was elected Director of the Museum and Curator of the Department of Classical Art. In 1908 Dr. Lacey D. Caskey was appointed Assistant Curator, and four years later was made Curator, a position which he held until his untimely death in 1944. Dr. Caskey was in charge when in 1909 the Museum moved from the old building in Copley Square to the new building on Huntington Avenue, and the arrangement of the collection is still essentially the one which he planned and which he constantly improved in later years. Some of the finest objects are exhibited in a series of galleries on the second floor in a roughly chronological sequence (see page vii) and the remainder in another group of galleries, also arranged chronologically, on the first floor. During the thirty-six years of Dr. Caskey's service to the Museum many important additions were made to the collection. Mr. Warren, although he was no longer so actively engaged in buying for the Museum, continued to be an occasional donor and purchases were frequently made following his suggestions. Among the important acquisitions during Dr. Caskey's regime were the following: in 1908 the so-called "Boston Relief" (pp. 86-87); between 1908 and 1913 more than one hundred coins, purchased from the bequest of Mrs. John Warren James; in 1910 the head of a goddess from Chios given by Mr. Nathaniel Thayer (p. 166); in 1914 the Minoan Snake Goddess, the gift of Mrs. W. Scott Fitz (pp. 13-14); between 1916 and 1931 the M. Elizabeth Carter collection of ancient glass; in 1921-1927 the Warren Collection of gems; in 1933 eleven specimens of Roman fresco from Boscotrecase, near Pompeii; in 1934 the Attic red-figured pelike by the Lykaon Painter (pp. 120-21); in 1934-1944 an anonymous gift of 336 coins in memory of Zoë Wilbour (1864-1885); in 1935 the Syracusan Demareteion (pp. 94-95); and in 1940 the Archaic Greek sphinx (p. 49).

Of all the objects in the collection, the sculpture and the vases most interested Caskey. And this interest found expression, not only in many articles in the *Bulletin*, but in three books: *The Geometry of Greek Vases*, 1922; *Catalogue of Greek and*

*Roman Sculpture*, 1925; and *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Part I, 1931. The last, published with the collaboration of Sir John Beazley, was the initial volume of a publication "planned to include eventually all the Attic vase paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts which deserve to be reproduced in their actual size." Part II was published in 1954, and Part III is in preparation, for publication in 1963.

In other ways, also, in recent years, the collections have been made more accessible to scholars, as can be seen by a glance at the list of publications. This program of publication is continuing; the bronzes are the largest group of objects of which no catalogue exists.

The bibliography on pp. 6-10 contains the titles of books which, it is hoped, may be helpful to those who wish to go further with the study of single monuments or the history of ancient art.

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For the Warren Collection:

Beazley, J. D. *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*. Oxford, 1920. (These with some additions form the Warren Collection of Gems.)

Regling, K. *Die griechischen Münzen der Sammlung Warren*. Berlin, 1906. (The coins acquired by the Museum are listed on pp. vi and vii.)

Important individual objects described in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*

The following articles, listed by volume number, year and page, deal in greater detail with works of art discussed in this book.

SCULPTURE IN MARBLE AND STONE

- Etruscan leopard, 575-550 B.C. (61.130): 59 (1961) pp. 13-21.  
 Torso of a young man, 540 B.C. (39.552): 38 (1940) pp. 75-78.  
 Fragmentary marble head, about 530 B.C. (34.169): 34 (1936) pp. 6-7.  
 Sphinx from Attic grave monument, 530 B.C. (40.576): 43 (1945) pp. 24-26; 50 (1952) pp. 27-29.  
 Late Archaic male head, about 480 B.C. (36.218): 34 (1936) pp. 49-52.  
 Greek marble head, fifth century B.C. (51.1404): 50 (1952) pp. 8-10.  
 Aphrodite, Roman copy of a statue by a follower of Pheidias (30.543): 28 (1930) pp. 82-88.  
 Head of Alexander as Herakles, fourth century B.C. (52.1741): 51 (1953) pp. 30-33.  
 Dionysiac relief, second century B.C. (37.1152): 45 (1947) pp. 62-64.  
 Roman tomb relief, first century B.C. (37.100): 35 (1937) pp. 20-23.  
 Woman sacrificing, early Antonine period (34.113): 32 (1934) pp. 75-77.  
 Hellenistic portrait remade as Severus Alexander, A.D. 222-235 (59.51): 58 (1960) pp. 12-25.  
 Statue of Zeus Sabázios, ca. A.D. 150-250 (Res. 53.63): 56 (1958) pp. 69-76.  
 Grave relief from Palmyra, second half of the second century A.D. (22.659): 25 (1927) p. 56.  
 Head of Maximianus Herculeus, A.D. 295-310 (61.1136): 60 (1962) pp. 8-20.

VASES AND PAINTING

- Dipylon amphora, eighth century B.C. (03.782): 7 (1909) pp. 11-13.  
 Terracotta painted plaques, about 600 B.C. (27.147, 27.146): 25 (1927) p. 55.  
 Attic black-figured dinos, sixth century B.C. (34.212): 46 (1948) pp. 42-48.  
 Attic black-figured neck-amphora, the arming of Achilles (21.21): 47 (1949) pp. 84-90.  
 Bilingual amphora, 530-510 B.C. (01.8037): 44 (1946) pp. 45-50.  
 Greek marble vases, fifth century B.C.: 37 (1939) pp. 74-80.  
 Elpenor pelike, about 440 B.C. (34.79): 32 (1934) pp. 40-44.  
 Silver vase (hydria), Graeco-Roman (53.2551): 52 (1954) pp. 98-99.  
 Enamel-glaze ware, first century B.C. (50.2300): 49 (1951) pp. 75-78.  
 Arretine puncheon (37.191): 45 (1947) pp. 38-42.  
 Pompeiian frescoes: 23 (1925) pp. 34-35.  
 Pompeiian frescoes (33.500): 37 (1939) pp. 9-16.



## BRONZES AND TERRACOTTAS

Griffins' heads from a cauldron, seventh century B.C. (50.144): 48 (1950) pp. 33-37.

Archaic Greek terracotta statuette (34.121): 33 (1935) pp. 49-51.

Etruscan antefix, sixth century B.C. (31.912): 30 (1932) pp. 36-37.

Greek helmets, sixth century B.C.: 48 (1950) pp. 80-86.

Two Greek bronzes, sixth to fifth century B.C.: 34 (1936) pp. 53-55.

Two Greek bronzes, fifth century B.C.: 8 (1910) pp. 49-50.

Head of a goddess from Tarentum, fifth century B.C. (31.6): 29 (1931) pp. 17-21.

Bronze mirror, ca. 460 B.C. (98.667): 3 (1905) pp. 46-47.

Tanagra figurines, fourth century B.C.: 9 (1911) pp. 24-30.

## IVORY, GOLD, JEWELRY AND GEMS

Minoan snake goddess (14.863): 12 (1914) pp. 51-55.

Minoan double-axe (58.1009): 57 (1959) pp. 4-20.

Gold bowl from Olympia, seventh century B.C. (21.1843): 20 (1922) pp. 65-68; 24 (1926) pp. 50-51.

Gold pin, fifth century B.C. (96.717): 39 (1941) pp. 54-58.

Gold earring with Nike, fourth century B.C. (98.788): 40 (1942) pp. 50-54.

Early Greek jewelry: 41 (1943) pp. 42-46.

Engraved gems, Uzman collection: 61 (1963) pp. 2-19.

Engraved gems, Warren collection: 26 (1928) pp. 46-50.

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# The Prehistoric Civilizations of Greece and Crete

THE Aegean civilizations of the prehistoric era endured even longer than the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome, ca. 6000-1100 B.C. Though their historical pace is leisurely in comparison, much of their art can stand unashamedly with the best of classical art.

The explorations of Dr. Heinrich Schliemann at Mycenae in 1876 and of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos from 1900 on revealed the wealth and power of these Mainland and Cretan cultures for the first time. Since then a number of excavations have defined the successive cultural phases of Aegean prehistory for these five thousand years, phases which range from tentative Neolithic attempts at organizing village life to the brilliant cosmopolitanism of the late Bronze Age.

From the name of Minos, who according to Greek tradition, was king of Knossos and ruled the Aegean with his fleet, Evans proposed the name "Minoan" for the culture of Crete in the Bronze Age, with nine subdivisions: Early Minoan I, II, and III (ca. 2700-1900 B.C.), Middle Minoan I, II, and III (ca. 1900-1580 B.C.), and Late Minoan I, II, and III (ca. 1580-1100). A similar though not identical scheme of "Helladic" periods for the Mainland of Greece and "Cycladic" periods for the Aegean islands has come into common use.<sup>1</sup> At the distant end of history the Neolithic or Late Stone Age, before the Bronze Age, has again been subdivided into Early and Late; at the close of the Bronze Age the declining phases of Minoan and Helladic culture are called Subminoan or Submycenaean.

Crete itself lies on the main trade routes between Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Anatolia, and Greece, so that foreign styles and techniques are often influential in the formation of its own highly individual art. Since Crete was never invaded, being protected as well as linked to the outer world by its surrounding seas, Minoan civilization developed rapidly from ca. 2700-1400 B.C., freely choosing whatever it found attractive in Egyptian and Mesopotamian art. The Greek Mainland, on the other hand, was subjected to a series of semi-barbaric invasions from the North and East, so that its artistic development is characterized by sudden spurts and setbacks. The Cyclades Islands have been less thoroughly explored than the other two areas of Aegean culture, but they seem to

1. See the chronological chart at the beginning of this book.

have been an important centre of trade in the third and second millennia, and therefore to have acted as stylistic carriers between East and West as well as fostering a strong private style of their own. By ca. 1600-1400 B.C. these three separate areas had fused to a certain extent, and an international Aegean style can be recognized, superimposed on local distinctions.

*Crete.* Cretan Neolithic was long-lived but comparatively undistinguished. It was the culture of a cautiously sea-faring people who probably crossed to the island in the late fourth millennium B.C., from Southern Asia Minor or the Levantine coast. Their houses were small rectangular units built of rubble and dried mud; their pottery was grey and handmade, in simple shapes, sometimes incised with geometric patterns filled in chalky white. Their tools were stone, including obsidian imported from the Cyclades; their religion can only be guessed from the presence of squat terracotta female figurines which have strong stylistic parallels in Asia and the Greek Mainland. The latest Neolithic phases drifted imperceptibly into Early Minoan, where the beginnings of special cultural achievement are seen gathering. Settlements were most dense in Eastern Crete, and perhaps open to some new impetus from the East. Pottery was still handmade, but bronze was being introduced for weapons and tools, and delicate gold jewelry from tombs testifies to new wealth and power of craftsmanship. A kind of pictographic writing was adopted, partly under Egyptian influence, for seals and gems. Again inspired by Egypt are a series of stone bowls in the Museum collection belonging to Early Minoan II (Fig. 1). These already show the predilection for precious materials, beauty of color and refinement of technique which are characteristic of Minoan art. The source is Egyptian, but the marble is native to the island and the shapes are purely Minoan with their tapered spouts and flaring rims and pedestals; the translucent walls, ground out with such simple tools as hollow reeds, and the use of veining in the stone, testify even at this early period to skilled craftsmanship and an original sense of design.

Two styles of contemporary pottery are illustrated from the collection. Vasiliké ware, named from a town in Eastern Crete, was fashionable in Early Minoan II; in this ware, deliberate dapples or spots of blackish color were produced on the red surface of the clay, perhaps by placing hot coals on it during the firing process (Fig. 2). In Early Minoan III, the potters favored a switch from traditional dark-on-light wares to light-on-dark, perhaps because the old dark paint would not show up well on such mottled surfaces as Vasiliké ware, and we find matt white paint in new curvilinear designs (Fig. 3), beginning the controlled use of spiral and whirling ornament so familiar in later Minoan art. Early Minoan culture also made great advances in architecture: domestic complexity in the House at Vasiliké, and impressive round tombs or tholoi which have produced many small, sophisticated treasures in ivory and precious metal as well as pottery. Early Minoan seals, in ivory and bone, are often

modelled in whimsical animal shapes, the carved patterns upon them are intricate and impressive, and like the stone bowls show profitable contact with Egypt.

The Middle Minoan period was one of grandeur in Crete: the first great palaces were built and decorated with wall-paintings; gems and seals were carefully designed and used an advanced kind of hieroglyphic writing; and by the end of the period a brilliant series of small sculptures and reliefs in ivory, bronze, and faience marked the high point of Cretan glyptic art. In pottery, the slow wheel was introduced in Middle Minoan I, followed by the quick wheel shortly after; vases could be made with thinner walls and finer fabric. Stiff spiral and lattice patterns gave way to naturalistic and imaginative renderings of flowers and radiating petal patterns, and, later, motifs from marine life (Fig. 4). The Kamares ware of Middle Minoan II, named from a cave in central Crete but found abundantly at Phaistos and Knossos in palace contexts, is remarkable for its eggshell fineness and brilliant polychromy: white, red, and orange applied on a lustrous black ground. In Middle Minoan III, designs of crocuses and lilies, dolphins and octopods, sea shells and nautilus were masterfully adapted to the curved vase surface, miniature reflections of the colorful renderings of nature on the frescoed palace walls. This trend continued in Late Minoan I with the brilliant Marine Style drawing its repertory from scenes of shallow water and rock pools, although the technique had reverted once more to dark patterns on a light ground. By Late Minoan II, in the Palace Style pottery of Knossos, these shell and plant patterns had become formalized almost to the point of abstraction (Fig. 5).

The transition from Middle to Late Minoan was accompanied by other changes. The palaces were extensively remodelled and repainted after damage from earthquakes, and an evolution in style demonstrates new interest for the human figure in Late Minoan I frescoes, and a more formal, less spontaneously vivid, sense of composition. In the minor arts bold experiments with freestanding and relief sculpture were made, and here again human activity became the focus.

The finest relics of Middle and Late Minoan art are in the museum at Iraklion in Crete; foreign museums have comparatively little to show in the way of major sculpture, wall painting, or bronzes. The Museum of Fine Arts is, then, especially fortunate in possessing one of the most famous gold-and-ivory figures of Aegean art, the statuette of the Minoan Snake Goddess (Fig. 6). Reconstructed from hundreds of slivers (ivory splits all too easily), the body appears to have been made originally in two pieces, with the arms also carved separately and attached by pegs. The goddess wears the typical Minoan female costume of full flounced skirt, indicated by looping bands of gold, and lowcut bodice which leaves the breasts bare; the nipples are adorned with golden pins. A series of holes around the top of the head suggests that she once wore a high ritual headdress; from surviving faience examples we know that such crowns were sometimes surmounted by a crouching leopard. The statuette is a work of the Late Minoan I period, probably part of the palace treasury at Knossos, represent-



ing the mother goddess of Aegean religion who, in her chthonian aspect as Snake Goddess, protected the royal household of the king. Though standing in strictly frontal pose, the figure is not stiff and rigid but full of life and energy. The shoulders are thrown back, the chin is held in, the arms sweep forward with their circling gold snakes, so that the outline forms one curving motion from the top of the crown to the narrow gold-girdled waist.

Middle and Late Minoan success in delineating men and animals can be seen again in several gems from the collection.<sup>2</sup> A banded agate shows the slender narrow-waisted Cretan male type, as an acrobat swoops between the legs of a tossing bull at the conclusion of a pass in the favorite Minoan sport of bull-jumping. In a sard intaglio (Fig. 7), two lions are biting a stag in the throat, all three animals being shown standing on their hind legs in the free form of the concave-convex design. The lions immediately call to mind their famous heraldic counterparts on the gate at Mycenae. A mottled jasper (Fig. 8) shows a heifer with her head turned back over her shoulder; two ritual objects known as "sacral knots" are suspended above her, and a typical Aegean "figure-of-eight" shield appears between her legs. A sard intaglio (Fig. 9) has a whirling composition of a lioness seizing a bull by the foreleg; such animal battles are popular in the late Bronze Age and seem to reflect the influence of the Near East. These gems belong to the Mycenaean, or Late Helladic II-III, period (two are from Mycenae itself), when Cretan art and artists had already been adopted by the Greeks of the Mainland as the major component in their own style.

Early in the fifteenth century B.C. the Greeks had grown strong enough to dispute the dominion of the Aegean Sea with the Cretans from whom they had borrowed so much; they not only took over Minoan trade areas in the East but also directly attacked Knossos itself and established a governing dynasty there. At Knossos they came in contact with the developed script of Crete which had supplanted Cretan hieroglyphic writing at the end of the Middle Minoan period. This script is known as Linear A, a system of abstract sign-forms standing for syllables in the still undeciphered Minoan language, usually on clay tablets recording palace supplies and tax assessments. The Greeks adapted this script for their own language, in a writing system known as Linear B, which uses many of the same sign-forms to represent an extremely archaic form of Greek; the syllabary was deciphered in 1952. Consequently, when the signs are the same, we can give values to certain Cretan words.

The Boston collection now has a very rare example of Linear A, an inscription on a gold ceremonial Minoan double-axe. These axes are well known from palace wall-paintings and other representations, and a hoard of them, mostly in bronze and silver, was actually found in one of the sacred caves of Crete, at Arkalochori high on the slopes of Mt. Dikte. This cave was used as a religious sanctuary from Early Minoan I 2. Since gems produced in the Greek world before the Hellenistic period were carved in intaglio, they are represented by photographs from impressions.



on, and the axes were always considered as votive offerings to the presiding goddess. It is only the Museum of Fine Arts axe which gives a name to this goddess, however, for the inscription seems to read *i-da-ma-te*, which may possibly be transliterated as "To (?) Demeter" or "(Mount) Ida-Mother" (Fig. 10). The signs are beautifully incised on the flat left wing of the axe; the borders are decorated with light engraved lines. The gold axe is approximately contemporary with the Snake Goddess, an offering of Late Minoan I.

*The Greek Mainland.* In Greece, only rare traces of the earliest, prepottery, Neolithic cultures have been found. As in Crete, Neolithic generally seemed already sophisticated when it first appeared strongly ca. 4500 B.C. Northern Neolithic was concentrated in Thessaly and Boeotia, Southern Neolithic around Argos and Corinth in the Peloponnesos. A simple agricultural life was maintained in isolated villages, so that while a general Neolithic conception of art is evident, there are many local variations in styles of pottery and terracotta figurines. Thessalian A is represented best by the village of Sesklo. Here typical small houses were made of wattle-and-daub, occasionally of stone rubble; the pottery included red polished simple bowls and a later red-on-white ware with linear patterns of grouped lines and triangles. Thessalian B is known as the Dimini phase from another village with more developed houses and a city wall, and is characterized by a pottery often considered to be intrusive from the Danube region. It used bold combinations of spiral and geometric ornaments, generally in black paint on a cream or red ground, sometimes combining all three in striking polychrome mastery (Fig. 11). Southern Neolithic had polished monochrome and geometric fabrics of its own; the fabric is among the hardest and finest ever made in Greece. Tools were of stone and bone; figurines were modelled with a high degree of skill, particularly the exaggerated female fertility statuettes, whether divine or human. Neolithic gave way to the first phase of the Bronze Age in the early third millennium B.C., but elements of the population probably continued to exist as a cultural substratum through succeeding periods.

Early Helladic opened the Bronze Age with a period of considerable cultural florescence, probably reflecting an invasion from the East. It is similar in ways to the contemporary cultures of Crete and the Cyclades. Towns began to be organized in a systematic manner, sometimes around a central "ruler's palace" of architectural complexity with courts, stairs, and plaster walls. Copper came into use for weapons and tools; trades, crafts, and shipping developed along with agriculture; figurines continued, and a few elaborately carved seals have been found, belonging to a different tradition than Early Minoan. Pottery was still handmade as in Crete; the shapes are ingenious, like the "sauceboat" with its flaring spout. Monochrome, incised, and linear-patterned wares were common in the early phases; in Early Helladic III a new dark-on-light geometric pottery came suddenly. Around 2300 or 2000 B.C.

many towns were burned and destroyed, and a new invasion put an end to a promisingly civilized era.

The Middle Helladic invaders, coming probably from the northeast, were still barbaric artistically but strong militarily, building walled towns. These were probably the first wave of Greeks, part of a widespread Indo-European descent toward the sea in the late third and early second millennia. Their characteristic pottery was "Minyan" ware, a soapy gray fabric in shapes reflecting metal prototypes; later it occurred in black and yellow also, and the introduction of the potter's wheel lent precision to its sharp profiles, pedestalled bases, and high-swung handles. The invaders rapidly acquired wealth, and with it some reflections of Minoan culture; by the seventeenth century the Shaft Graves at Mycenae were filled with gold, bronze, alabaster, and faience in a unique, skillfully hybrid display of princely wealth (reproductions of the finest pieces are displayed in the collection). This wealth was probably acquired by new dynasts and a new skill in warfare, with the horse, and chariot, and long swords of finely tempered bronze. Pottery was now painted in Minoan fashion; how the naturalistic brilliance of Late Minoan I-II was transformed into stylized abstract derivatives suitable for mass production by the Mycenaean can be seen in Fig. 12. From the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries a Mycenaean "trade empire" flourished with connections from Troy to Egypt, from Syria to Spain. Walled cities and palaces sprang up, frescoes and ivories and jewelry were copied from Minoan patterns, but in all fields the Minoan and Mycenaean styles can be distinguished. The spontaneous and colorful work of Cretan art became rigid and neat in Mycenaean hands, although always technically fine and strong.

One distinctive feature of Mycenaean work is a fondness for pictorial narration; this is seen in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries on a series of "chariot kraters," found both on Cyprus, where a large Mycenaean colony took root, and on the Mainland. On the Boston example (Fig. 13) the ubiquitous chariot is being driven by two figures in long robes, with huge round eyes and two-fingered hands. The elongated horses poke their hooves through the decorative bands around the vase, and the blank spaces are filled with arbitrary motifs of flowers and birds. In front of the procession two young men are tied together around the waist, perhaps engaging in some form of wrestling. The flat drawing and exaggerated "childish" features indicate the gulf between Crete and the Mainland. A second vase of this general group is more unusual: it substitutes for the chariot a group of three mountain goats prancing on wobbly knees and waving their curled horns (Fig. 14). On the reverse a stylized scale-patterned mountain and formal plant sprays suggest Near Eastern influence. The goat krater does not link immediately to any known Cypriote or Mainland style; it may be attributed to an Attic school and be dated ca. 1250 B.C.

A third vase with animal motifs is even later, and is probably of ritual rather than household origin (Fig. 15): a kernos, or ring-vase for libations. The ring is adorned

with modelled bull's heads and four (originally five) little vases of different shapes; the twisted basket-handle is surmounted by a pair of doves. Such ritual vases have a long history in the Bronze Age throughout the Mediterranean, but are best known from classical mystery sanctuaries like that of Demeter at Eleusis.

Terracottas were also common in Late Helladic III; usually diminutive females with long dresses and hats, arms either pressing the body or raised in a gesture of protection (Fig. 16). These are frequently found in tombs and have been called "kourotrophos" or nurse statuettes; they sometimes hold children in their arms or laps. Animals of engaging sketchiness were also popular; a ram in the collection has a barrel body and tubular legs, with white spots strewn over his reddish fleece (Fig. 17). He served as a jug, with the mouth and a handle (now missing) on his back. A comparable rhyton, with double spouts, from the Cycladic island of Amorgos is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.<sup>3</sup>

The Minoan-Mycenaean international era came to an end in a troubled time known as the Sea Peoples' period, marked by numerous wars and invasions of which the Trojan War, which figured so prominently in later Greek art, was but one minor incident. A new wave of Greeks, the Dorians, swept down on the Mainland ca. 1200-1100 B.C. and ushered in the Dark Ages, from which no towns and only scraps of pottery are known. The great Aegean cultural achievements were lost for centuries, and only survived as dim recollections in the formation of classical Greek art after 900 B.C.

*The Cyclades.* These islands, forming a wheel (*kuklos*) in the central Aegean, acted as a bridge or series of sailors' landfalls from east to west and south. Their early culture is mostly known from cemeteries, though the town of Phylakopi on Melos has proved through excavation to have flourished in several phases under stronger or weaker Minoan influence. In spite of the lack of general information, the distinctive style of Cycladic art is widely known, from the exported marble idols for which the islands were renowned. These idols are usually carved from the marble of Paros or Naxos, which is finely crystalline and often translucent; their disciplined, abstract simplicity has attracted many collectors of modern art. An example from the collection (Fig. 18) shows the mathematical reduction of the human form to a sequence of slender geometric shapes, with a long backward-tilting neck and a flattened oval face. It is a work of the Early Cycladic period, about 2400 B.C. A contemporary marble vase (Fig. 19) shows the same formal simplicity; its globular body is accented with four lugs pierced for suspension or for tying the lid in place; its tall neck is balanced by a slender flaring pedestal. The marble has weathered to a pleasing golden patina. Early Cycladic pottery is generally dark and burnished, sometimes with stamped or in-

3. Ch. Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades*, Paris, 1957, p. 247, fig. 332.

cised patterns; a series of "frying pans," shaped like classical mirrors, are decorated with complex spirals and sometimes with the ships on which Cycladic wealth depended. In Middle and Late Cycladic, Minoan influence became stronger; pottery was painted in brilliant reds and blacks; typical are the beak-spouted jugs with vigorous primitive designs of flying griffins, lilies, roses, and suns. It is not yet clear how deeply the Cyclades suffered in the Sea Peoples' cataclysm at the end of the Bronze Age; it is possible that the memory of Aegean art was conserved here to infuse an element of bold naturalism into early Greek painting.

Captions for illustrations pp. 19-27

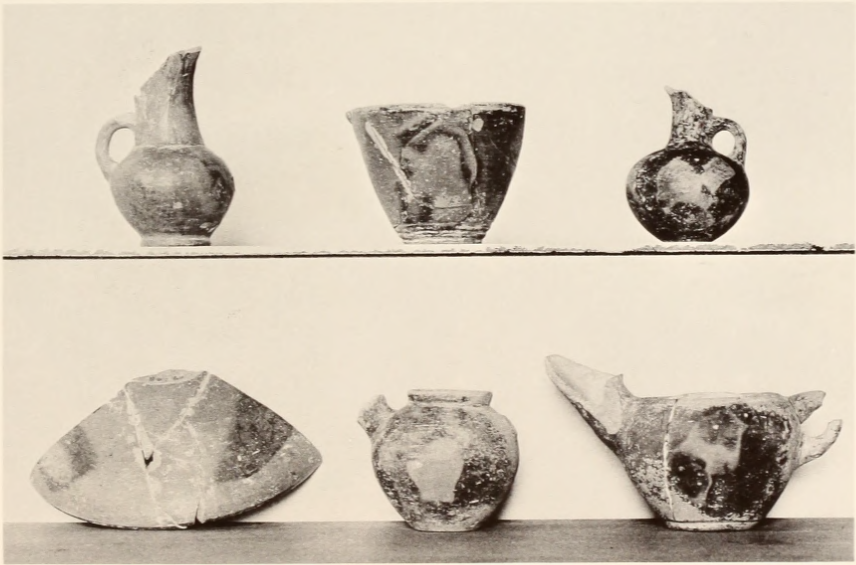
1. Early Minoan stone vases (09.16-21, 27, 29, 32)
2. Vasiliké ware; Early Minoan II (09.545, 546, 46, 548, 543, 550)
3. Light-on-dark ware; Early Minoan III (09.573, 557, 36, 412, 556, 553, 555, 42)
4. Middle Minoan I and III pottery (09.412, 566)
5. Late Minoan I pottery (09.568, 561, 47, 560, 37)
6. Gold and ivory Snake Goddess from Crete; ca. 1600-1500 B.C. (14.863)
7. Mycenaean sard intaglio (27.655)
8. Mycenaean mottled jasper intaglio (01.7563)
9. Mycenaean sard intaglio (23.576)
10. Minoan gold ceremonial double-axe; ca. 1600-1500 B.C. (58.1009)
11. Thessalian Neolithic sherds (14.761, 753, 760, 744, 750, 745)
12. Mycenaean pottery (72.1422; 16.190; 09.570; 72.94; 01.8043; 06.2371; 72.1484; 01.8042; 72.1485)
13. Mycenaean krater, in the Cypriote chariot style (01.8044)
14. Mycenaean krater, from an Attic school (59.710)
15. Mycenaean kernos or libation ring-vase (35.735)
16. Terracotta figurines; Late Helladic III (54.44, 43, 45)
17. Mycenaean jug in the form of a ram (87.415)
18. Early Cycladic marble idol (35.60)
19. Early Cycladic marble vase (58.318)





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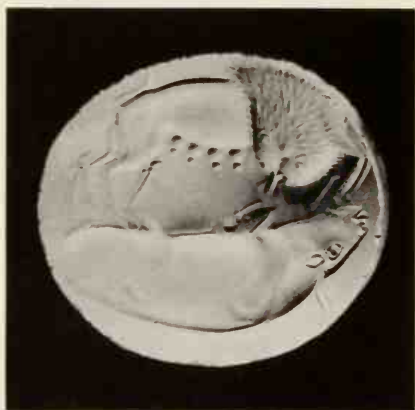
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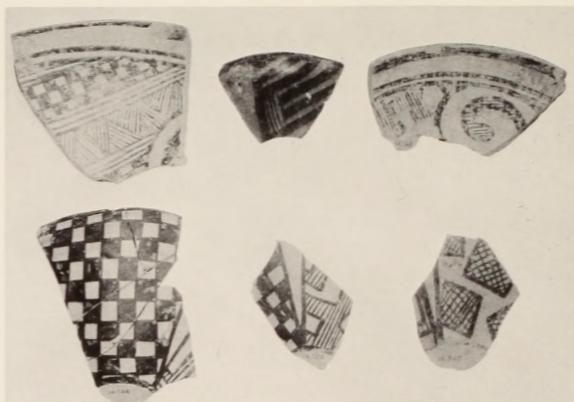




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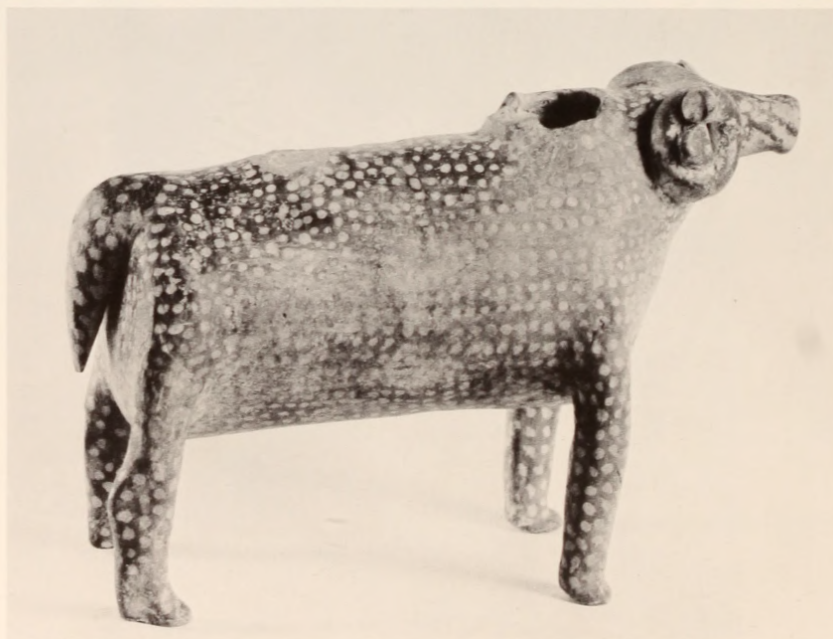


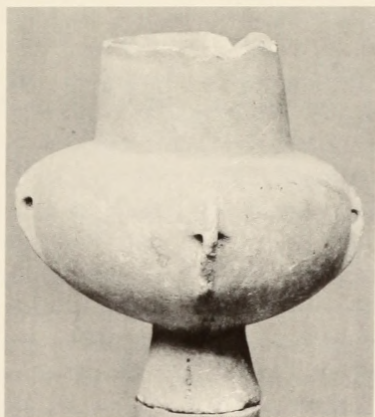
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# The Early Iron Age

ABOUT 1100 B.C. the last wave of Greek invaders, known in tradition as the Dorian migration, overthrew the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization. The new wave of Dorian Greeks and the eruption of the mysterious Sea Peoples produced the general Mediterranean upheaval of which the famous Trojan War has been mentioned as one incident. These conquerors exploited the knowledge of iron, and it was probably their use of iron swords and daggers which enabled them to overcome the earlier rulers. After this, for nearly four centuries, a Geometric style of decoration prevailed in most of the Greek area, although in some regions, notably in Crete, late Bronze-Age motifs lingered on. In many districts decorative patterns throughout this period were purely formal; the commonest were groups of parallel lines, zigzags, concentric circles, checkerboards, swastikas, and maeanders, the latter a favorite which remained in use long after the Geometric age. Friezes of horses and birds are also common. The amphora and long-necked pitchers with high handles are among the commonest shapes. The covered pyxis with a handle in the form of a horse (Fig. 20) was also a favorite. One noteworthy feature of the Geometric vases is a love of richness, which leads the painter to fill all vacant spaces with bits of pattern or purely decorative birds or fishes. Among less usual types in the Museum collection are the drinking-horn in the form of a galley with the prow modelled as an animal's head and the steersman in the stern (Fig. 21), and the so-called iynx-wheel (Fig. 22). This takes its name from the birds, which can be identified as wrynecks. The wryneck was associated with magic rites and especially with love-charms. Such wheels were spun on cords, but our example, because of its material, can hardly have been made for actual use; most probably it was an offering in a temple.

Among unusual designs are those of an oinochoe, with figures of men and foxes (Fig. 23), and a similar vase on which one of the men seems to be standing on his head (Fig. 24). Both of these show well the schematic formula by which the painters of the eighth century represented the human figure.

In bronzes similar qualities appear. A bronze fibula or safety-pin (Fig. 25) has one side of the catch-plate decorated with the incised figure of a horse, with a bird above and below, the other with a lion devouring an animal, and similar filling ornaments. A small bronze deer suckling her fawn (Fig. 26) has not only the slender

forms of the horses on Geometric vases, but on her crupper perches a bird which is reminiscent of the birds on the bronze fibulae and on the vases.

In graves of the Geometric period figures in terracotta are among the commonest offerings to the dead, but all are distinctly primitive. The most numerous are standing female figures, with stumpy arms and a pinched out nose — the so-called "bird-faced" type, painted with geometric patterns (Fig. 27). In Boeotia, a curious variant, with bell-shaped body, a face modelled in simple fashion, and separately modelled legs, appeared before the end of the eighth century (Fig. 28). Other favorite forms are schematically portrayed horses and horsemen. Figure 29 represents a rather exaggerated type from Cyprus.

During the Geometric period the potters of Attica showed greater skill than those of other districts. Athens as an inhabited city was exceptional in having had a record of continuity from the Mycenaean age through the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. Her productivity in the Protogeometric period gave evidence that her position of importance among Greek cities was founded as early as the ninth century B.C. Protogeometric pottery is characterized by the striking effect of broad areas of plain black glaze offsetting wide bands of cross-hatched triangles and concentric semi-circles.

In the eighth century, Attic potters produced a series of huge amphorae, sometimes as much as five feet high, decorated with complicated scenes of death and burial, which were set up as monuments over the graves of the dead. These have been often called "Dipylon vases," since many have been found in the extensive graveyard just outside the northwest gate of Athens, which was known as the Dipylon or Double Gate.

Figure 30 is a fine example of such an amphora; its height is just over forty inches. The principal frieze, a funeral procession of horsemen, shows all the qualities of the developed Geometric style — the conventional form of the riders, with head in profile, body in front view, and legs in profile, the thin-bodied, long-necked horses, and bits of pattern filling all vacant spaces. Characteristic, too, are groups of parallel lines and linear patterns above and below the frieze. But in the decoration of the neck we see definite innovations. In the central pattern the groups of three leaves approach natural forms; the warriors on either side are a little less conventional than the riders; and just below the lip is a frieze of deer with long horns, animals which do not appear in the repertory of the Geometric painters, but which are extremely common on vases of the seventh century. The spirals among the filling ornaments are also an innovation. All this points to a date late in the eighth century for our vase. Among interesting minor details are the lead clamps which show the ancient method of mending broken vases.



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Captions for illustrations pp. 30-35

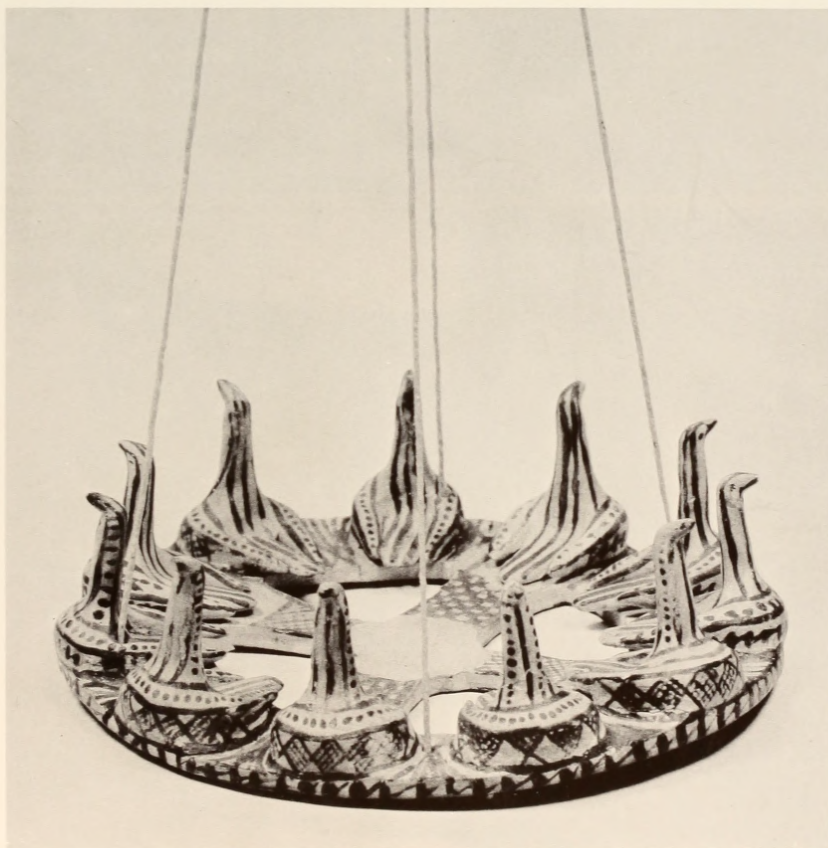
- 20. Covered pyxis; Geometric period (97.359)
  - 21. Drinking horn in form of galley; Geometric period (99.515)
  - 22. Lynx-wheel; terracotta, Geometric period (28.49)
  - 23. Oinochoe; Geometric period (25.42)
  - 24. Oinochoe; Geometric period (25.43)
  - 25. Fibula with incised decoration; bronze, eighth century B.C. (98.643)
  - 26. Deer suckling fawn; bronze, Geometric period (98.650)
  - 27. Female figure; terracotta, Geometric period (14.766)
  - 28. Female figure from Boeotia; terracotta, eighth century B.C. (98.891)
  - 29. Geometric horseman from Cyprus; terracotta (72.140)
  - 30. Geometric amphora of Dipylon class (03.782)
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# The Period of Oriental Influence

THE Dipylon vase shows the way in which the Geometric style in its last phase began to be modified by the introduction of motifs derived from Oriental art. With the seventh century such motifs attained a wide popularity. Lotus and palmette patterns, friezes of animals and monsters, such as the griffin and other fantastic creatures, and, in general, more naturalistic and curvilinear forms became the dominating factor in decorative art. This century, therefore, down to the last generation, when Greek monumental art begins (the century between 725 and 620 B.C.) is commonly called the "Period of Oriental Influence." The period may be said to begin as early as 750 and continue as late as 550 in certain areas.

Oriental motifs came to the Greeks in many ways. The critics of an older generation were inclined to attribute much to the Phoenicians, whose activities as traders are recorded by Herodotus and other historians, and whose products, decorated with a curious mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian motifs, have been found over a wide area. The silver-gilt bowl (Fig. 31) is one of a considerable number of such bowls. Here Egyptian influence is clear in the dress of the warriors and the huntsmen and in many details, such as the palm trees, the lotus flowers, and the flying birds used as space fillers. But the three formal hills in the hunting scene are reminiscent rather of Assyrian models. Such a combination must be attributed to a region where artists were familiar with both Egyptian and Assyrian decorative art, and since one of the bowls carries an inscription in Phoenician letters, the whole series is usually attributed to Phoenician workmen.

That the products of the Phoenician workshops had some influence cannot be doubted. But more important, probably, were direct trade relations with the great empires of the East. Thus the three griffins' heads which decorated a large bronze cauldron (Fig. 32), probably go back through the cities of the Ionian coast to the art of the kingdom of Urartu or Van in Armenia, and ultimately to Assyrian art. Such cauldrons were very popular as dedicatory offerings at Greek temples in the seventh century. The griffins were probably regarded, originally, as guardians of the contents of the bowls.

The new ideas spread by sea trade among the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, situated at the end of the great trade route to Mesopotamia. These cities were sending out

colonies to many parts of the Mediterranean area. The new ideas were taken up also on Crete and on the Mainland, notably at Corinth, through trade relations with the Eastern kingdoms via the island of Cyprus. On the Mainland, as we might expect, the new ideas had to overcome the prevailing Geometric style. One result of all this was that there are considerable differences between the Orientalizing wares of Eastern Greece and the Cycladic islands and those of the Mainland. Among them is the fact that in Ionia designs were commonly painted on a white or yellowish-white background, and details were rendered in various ways — by reserving part of the white background, or by adding supplementary colors, especially red, over the black varnish by which the main part of the design was obtained; on the Mainland figures and patterns were painted directly on the clay, and detail was rendered, not only by added colors, but also by fine lines cut through the black silhouette — a practice derived, probably, from the technique of the workers in bronze. In both regions love of decorative richness continued, but the filling ornaments became more varied than in the Geometric styles and were better subordinated to the main design.

The centres of manufacture for many vases of the period are still a matter of much debate among archaeologists, especially for the Eastern Greek products, which were exported over a wide area, and several classes are still named from the principal finding places, which may not have been the places where the vases were made. One of the largest groups, the so-called Rhodian ware, is so named because many vases of this sort have been found on the island of Rhodes, but their distribution is so wide that many critics believe they were made in the great commercial cities on or near the Asia Minor coast, cities such as Chios, Ephesus, Miletus and Samos. The favorite forms in this class are flat plates and large oinochoai (Fig. 33). The commonest decorative elements are animals and monsters in processional friezes or heraldic groups over a creamy white slip. The frieze of running deer or wild goats is a special favorite, the name "Wild goat wares" being used interchangeably with "Rhodian." Characteristic, too, are the varied curvilinear filling ornaments, which, many believe, point to Oriental tapestries as the models — the lotus flowers and birds, the palmettes with spirals, the plait-band or guilloche. The "reserve space" technique by which details in white are managed is another marked characteristic of the Ionic Orientalizing style.

Another class of Eastern Greek vases is called "Fikellura (Samian?)" because such ware has been found especially at Fikellura in Rhodes and on several sites in Samos. The group has the characteristic Ionic white background for the design and frequently employs a "new moon" pattern just above the base.

The large collection of vases and fragments from Naukratis is interesting as coming from a Greek colony in Egypt. Naukratis was founded in the early sixth century near the western or Canopic mouth of the Nile by colonists from Ionia, but others from the Mainland joined them, and the pottery found there, while including some

imports, consists chiefly of vases from the Ionian city of Chios.

On the Mainland the most important centre was Corinth, which, owing to its favorable situation, became an important commercial city and mother of colonies before 700 B.C. An early group of Corinthian vases, the so-called Proto-Corinthian class, which may be dated about 725-640 B.C., shows an interesting development from a refined Geometric style of decoration (Fig. 34) through a stage with friezes of animals and monsters (Fig. 35) to a late phase with mythological subjects (Fig. 36). The vases are almost all small and the best, like the Bellerophon vase, are marvels of miniature painting. Lotus and palmette patterns, as well as the plait-band, are among the elements derived from the East.

The vases called Corinthian are a later group (about 640-550 B.C.) of somewhat larger vases, often carelessly painted. These carry on the tradition of friezes of animals and monsters (Fig. 37) and develop in the sixth century into a class of very large vases with mythological subjects in black-figure style, in which the Orientalizing elements appear only in subordinate positions. The filling ornaments in all groups are more monotonous than those of the Ionic classes; they are almost exclusively rosettes.

The Corinthian origin of these vases is proved by inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet. A Proto-Corinthian aryballos in the Museum collection has as its sole decoration, except for a few parallel lines, what is probably the oldest known signature of a Greek potter: "Pyrrhos, son of Agasileos, made me." The wide distribution of the Corinthian products in Greece, Italy, North Africa, and the Crimea bears eloquent witness to the developed trade of Corinth. Because so many of the vases are carelessly painted, it is a plausible theory that the smaller vases were valued for their contents (perfumes and cosmetics?) rather than for themselves.

On work in the precious metals the impact of new ideas from the East is noteworthy. Typical are the griffins' heads of a large earring, said to come from Kameiros in Rhodes (Fig. 38), with fine granular filigree. Such pendants were hung by means of a ring; the material is electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver.

Of the same material and from the same site is a series of plaques with relief decoration which formed parts of necklaces, or girdles, or possibly were simply sewn on the garments of women. In one group each plaque is decorated with the figure of a centaur, represented with a complete human body, holding an animal in his left hand (Fig. 39a). The two dot-rosettes used as filling ornaments are suggestive of the practice of the vase painters. Attached to the bottom of the plaque are "pendant balls." In another group, each plaque carries an "Oriental Artemis" holding a lion in each hand (Fig. 39b), and here too circles or rosettes are used as filling ornaments. A variant of this type is the so-called "Bee Artemis" (Fig. 39c), another form apparently of the nature goddess widely worshipped in Asia Minor, whose most important temple was the famous Artemision at Ephesus.



Finally, the remarkable gold bowl from Olympia (Fig. 40) is dated in the seventh century by the inscription, "The sons of Kypselos dedicated this (as spoils) from Herakleia." Kypselos of Corinth was one of the earliest of the Greek "tyrants," men who took advantage of the growing dissatisfaction with the rule of the aristocracy in the early Greek communities to seize the sole power. His rule can be dated about 655 to 625 B.C. In the struggle to keep open the important trade route to the West, he sent his sons to settle in Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas, and it was probably in the course of carrying out this policy of expansion that they won the victory over Herakleia which led to the dedication at Olympia. The shape is that of the so-called *phiale mesomphalos*, a bowl for libations, with a central boss which made it easier to hold for pouring. The ornamentation of the interior is very simple. The maker relied for his effect upon the play of light on the concave and convex surfaces of the gold.

#### Captions for illustrations pp. 40-45

31. Phoenician silver-gilt bowl; seventh century B.C. (27.170)
32. Griffins' heads from a large cauldron; bronze, seventh century B.C. (50.144)
33. Rhodian oinochoe; seventh century B.C. (03.90)
34. Early Proto-Corinthian skyphos; 725-700 B.C. (03.809)
35. Middle Proto-Corinthian aryballos; 700-675 B.C. (99.511)
36. Bellerophon and the Chimaera, late Proto-Corinthian aryballos; 675-640 B.C. (95.10)
37. Corinthian oinochoe; about 600 B.C. (76.33)
38. Electrum earring from Rhodes; seventh century B.C. (99.378)
39. Decorative electrum plaques from Rhodes; seventh century B.C. (99.386, 99.384, 99.396)
40. Gold bowl from Olympia; seventh century B.C. (21.1843)

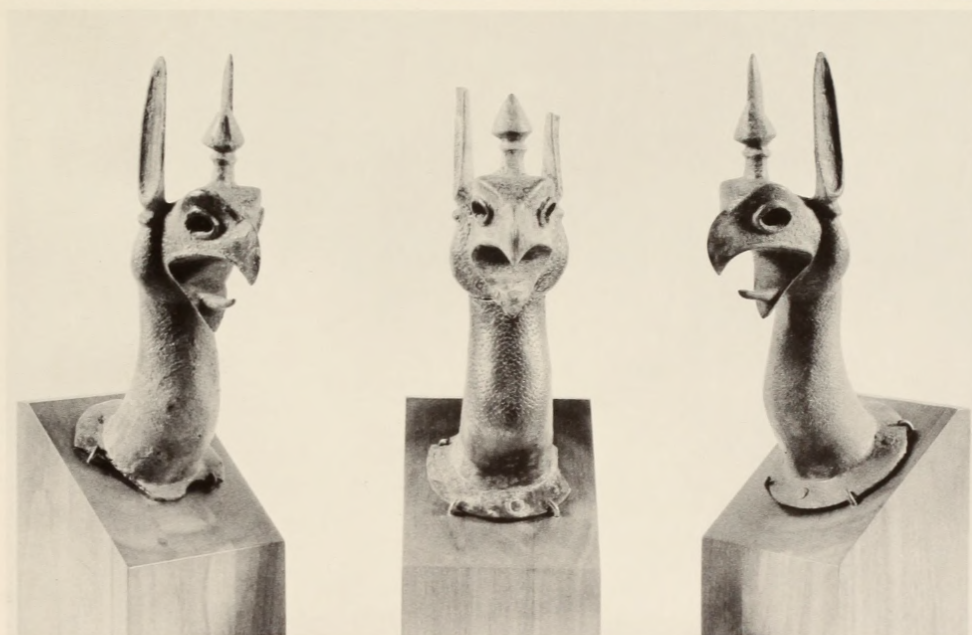




31a



31b



32

34









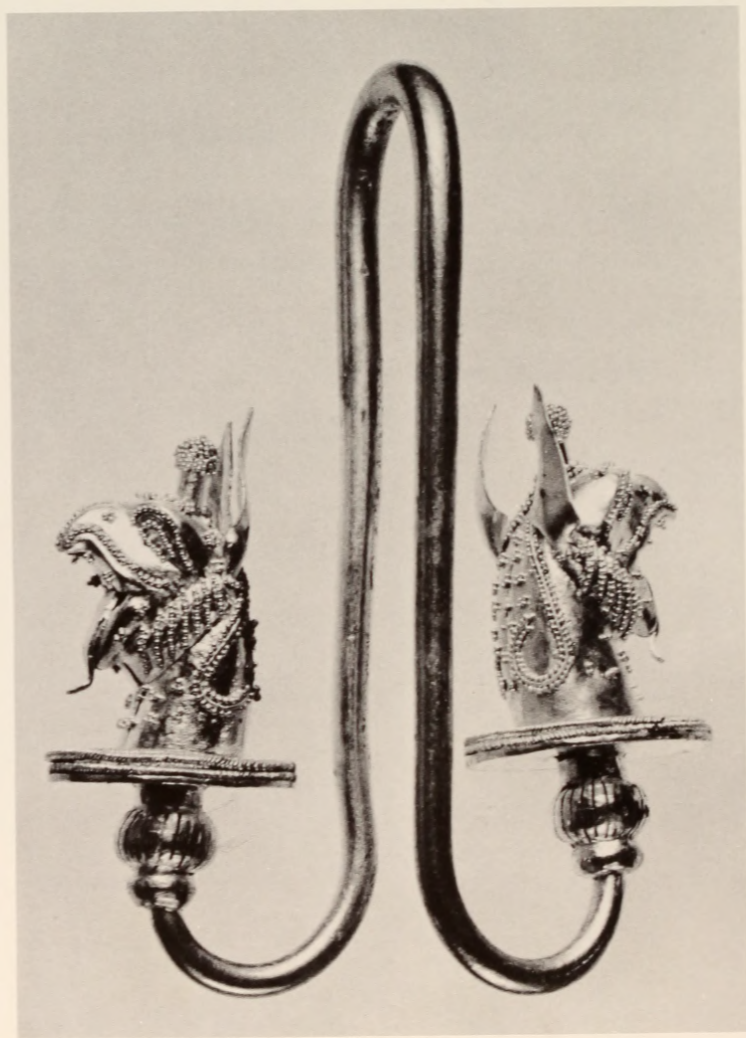
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36

37









39

40



# The Archaic Period

THE Archaic period of Greek art is dated about 625-480 B.C. Politically, this was a time of change in the city-states of Greece, many of which fell under the rule of tyrants. Most of the tyrants were men of ability, and their rule was usually characterized by a restoration of order and an enlightened patronage of the arts, so that the sixth century was a period of rapid development. Before the end of the century the tyrannies almost everywhere were replaced by some type of democratic government, but civic pride proved as important a stimulus to artistic achievement as the will of the tyrant had been. The Archaic period, therefore, was a time of great advances in all fields — in carving stone and casting bronze, in modelling clay, in engraving gems and dies for coins, and in painting. In no field was complete accuracy in the rendering of human and animal figures attained, if we judge by modern standards of anatomical naturalism, but accuracy and directness within the developing terms of Greek perfection characterized work in the Archaic period. In standing figures the "law of frontality" prevailed until almost the end of the sixth century. Figures were regularly posed looking straight forward, bending neither to right nor to left. In the heads, eyes were never sufficiently sunk under the brows, ears were rendered in conceptual fashion and usually placed too high, the hair was treated in pattern-like arrangements. But there was a steady advance towards more natural forms, and the works of the Archaic masters are often charming in their naïveté and decorative qualities.

Since the Museum possesses comparatively few works of large sculpture from this period, progress can best be traced, perhaps, in the small bronzes.

Our earliest example, indeed, antedates the Archaic period as we have defined it, since it must be assigned to the first half of the seventh century B.C. (Fig. 41). In the curious elongation of the figure, something of the feeling of the Geometric age persists. But otherwise it illustrates several of the characteristic features of Archaic male figures — strict frontality, bulging eyes, and hair treated as a mass, with formal curls falling to the shoulders. The purpose of the statuette is made clear by the inscription: *Mantiklos dedicated (this) from his tithe to the Far Darter of the Silver Bow; do thou, Phoebus, grant gracious recompense.*

A great advance is seen in a bronze from Olympia (Fig. 42), which illustrates

other common characteristics of Archaic male figures — left foot in advance of the right (a trait which is plausibly traced back to Egyptian models), the conceptually modelled and wrongly placed ears, and the upturned corners of the mouth, producing what is often called the "Archaic smile." For this trait many explanations have been offered, but it is probably due to an attempt by the artist to get some expression in the face.

A third small bronze (Fig. 43), one probably made in the fifth century B.C. in imitation of sixth century styles, shows how the type could be given definition by changing attributes. The addition of the ram, the high boots, and the traveller's hat, identify the figure as Hermes, the protector of flocks and wayfarers.

Female figures of the Archaic period are regularly draped, sometimes in close-fitting robes, sometimes with elaborately arranged chiton and himation. Of the former type, made into an Artemis by the addition of a bow, Figure 44 is a fine example. Here the Doric chiton, with its short overfold at the top, is treated as a mass, without folds of any kind except for seven formal vertical grooves at the back from waist to feet. The inscription records that the statuette was dedicated by a certain Chimaridas to the "Daidalian" goddess.

The Archaic art of the Peloponnesos was carried across the Ionian Sea to Tarentum, and from that region we have a pair of silver-gilt heads of goddesses in repoussé relief, perhaps sculptors' studies or decorations from a casket (Fig. 45). Artemis, Aphrodite or, equally likely, just a beautiful Archaic maiden was intended. From ca. 550 B.C. onwards we find increasing artistic connection between South Italian and Sicilian Greek cities and the older centres of Greece and Western Asia Minor. This is reflected in imports such as vases and in local works from major sculptures down to coins, gems, and decorative works such as these two small silver heads.

The early Archaic bronzes of the Ionian coast of Western Asia Minor are often not the sophisticated products we associate with later work in marble from this area, from the islands, and from Attica. A small bronze group of a man and woman (or perhaps a pair of divinities such as Zeus and Hera) in a cart drawn by oxen comes from a shrine or group of graves on the Aegean coast just south of the bay of Smyrna (Izmir) (Fig. 46). Superficially, the figures are almost Geometric in proportions and general structure, but the primitive qualities may be a mark of East Greek provincialism, and the little group may date no earlier than ca. 600-575 B.C. Humans or divinities and animals are cast in an appealing simplicity of hand modelling which suggests the bronze descends from a local tradition of terracotta figurines rather than metalwork. A number of other bronzes from the same finds are in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

In marble, a Graeco-Roman version of a statue of the second half of the sixth

1. Haynes, D. E. L., in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXII, 1952, pp. 74-80.

century (Fig. 47) suggests the later development of the Archaic female figure in the pose with left foot forward, the right forearm separately made and attached (the hand commonly held an offering), the lower part of the chiton grasped in the left hand and drawn tight about the legs. Especially characteristic of the type is the elaborately draped himation, falling in straight folds with zigzag edges.

What the head of such a statue looked like can be seen in a limestone head from Sicyon (Fig. 48), which may be dated about 530 B.C. Here the eyes are slanted to follow the lines of the mouth. This departure from nature — perhaps also an attempt at greater expressiveness — is found in female figures from the Greek islands near the Asiatic Mainland, and may here be regarded, as in the case of similar figures among the famous "maidens" found on the Acropolis at Athens, as a sign of Aegean influence on a sculptor working in Greece. The hair, with locks in front ending in spirals and a single lock falling over each shoulder, follows one of the many patterns employed by Archaic masters for this detail. Traces of red on hair and lips and of blue on the earrings and the stephane which confines the hair are reminders that all early Greek statues and reliefs in stone were bright with color.

The limestone figure of a man (Fig. 49) is remarkable for the contrast between the simply proportioned body and the carefully executed head. A curious impression of individuality is produced by the tapering face, the prominent cheek bones, and the slightly slanted eyes. The strands of the hair are treated like strings of beads, ending over the forehead in spirals. The treatment of the beard finds its closest analogy in the famous Rampin head in the Louvre, the work of an Athenian sculptor, but the relative lack of sophistication in execution of the body suggests that this is a provincial work, influenced perhaps by an Attic model of about the middle of the sixth century. The figure was probably carved on the island of Cyprus.

An Attic work of around the middle of the sixth century is the torso of a young man (Fig. 50), which shows the indications of muscles usual in Archaic male figures, such as the horizontal divisions of the abdominal muscle (more numerous than in nature) and the grooves to either side of the spinal furrow. The hair, which is represented by nine separate locks at the back and three in front of each shoulder, has much of the original red paint preserved.

Still later is the fragmentary head of Athenian workmanship (Fig. 51); it may be dated about 530 B.C. It, too, retains traces of red paint in the hair and in one of the incised circles which mark the iris of the eye. The treatment of the hair in front as a double row of spirals and as closely trimmed ridges on the crown becomes popular around this time, especially for athletes. The artist responsible for this beautifully conceived, carefully executed head probably also produced the kouros or youth from Anavyssos in the Athens National Museum and a number of Attic grave monuments.

To the very end of the Archaic period, shortly before 480 B.C., may be attributed a youthful male head (Fig. 52). Although this is unfinished, it shows well the simpler



forms adopted in the late Archaic period. The marble, as well as the style, suggests the head was carved in Northern Greece. Here little remains of the older mannerisms except the somewhat prominent eyes and the slightly smiling mouth.

The finest piece of Archaic Greek sculpture in the Museum collection is a crowning member, or finial, of an Attic grave-monument, surmounted by a sphinx (Fig. 53). The custom of marking the graves of the dead with statues in the round or tall marble shafts decorated in relief was one that developed rapidly in the sixth century. An example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which furnishes the clue to the use of the Boston sphinx, has a tall slab decorated with a relief of a boy and his sister, surmounted by a crowning ornament similar to the Boston finial, but without the cut-away centre, and a seated sphinx similar to ours. An inscription in the Attic alphabet offers some evidence for dating the New York stele about 540 B.C. The more skillful design of the Boston finial and the more careful treatment of anatomical detail in the sphinx suggest a somewhat later date, about 530 B.C. Many details of the Boston sphinx throw light on the practices of Athenian sculptors in the sixth century. The formal character of the feathers in the wings reveals their interest in pattern-like detail, and the treatment of the hair as a mass at the back follows a long tradition. In the finial the lines of the palmettes which fill the angles of the two double spirals are carried through to the back for the upper palmette, which could be seen from below, but not for the lower ones — good evidence for the practical bent of the designer. The lead by which the sphinx was fastened to its base is largely preserved, and in the finial a pour-hole at the back shows where lead was poured to secure this member to the shaft below. Above all, the many traces of color serve to emphasize the important part played by the painter in the development of Greek sculpture. On the finial, especially, the color on the decorative patterns is well preserved; and on the sphinx, careful study has shown traces of blue and green, as well as red and black, on the feathers of the wings and on the breast. Such excellent preservation of color is unusual.

Not only sphinxes but lions were set up over graves as protectors of the dead. Of this type the lion from Perachora on the Isthmus of Corinth (Fig. 54) is an excellent example. Since the lion was extinct in Mainland Greece in the sixth century, such figures from the Archaic period are rarely realistic, and ours is no exception. In spite of the open jaws, the lion's expression has been well characterized as bland, almost friendly. Its most interesting features are the decorative treatment of the hair and the careful arrangement of the overlong tail.

Of Archaic work in relief, a fragmentary Attic stele or shaft of a grave-monument is an excellent example (Fig. 55). On it is represented a young athlete, holding in his left hand two pomegranates on a stem and in his right a strap from which hangs an aryballos. The oil-jug and the wreath in the hair identify the figure as an athlete, the pomegranates probably have reference to the divinities of the underworld, with whom this fruit is constantly associated. The characteristic traits of Archaic relief sculpture

are: the strict profile position, but with the eye in full face; the smiling mouth; the ear placed high on the head; the hair represented by spiral ringlets. The monument may be dated about the middle of the sixth century.

Other interesting reliefs of the Archaic period are found in several fragments from the temple of Assos in Northwest Asia Minor. These were recovered in 1881 by the first expedition sent out by the Archaeological Institute of America. Other parts of the decoration are in Paris and Constantinople. These reliefs are unusual in several respects. They come from the architrave of a Doric temple, which normally was undecorated, and they show a curious mixture of decorative groups and mythological scenes. The longer one represents Herakles pursuing the Centaurs (Fig. 56). One of the lesser adventures of the great hero was his visit to the centaur Pholos in Arcadia. When, to honor his guest, Pholos opened a cask of wine, the other centaurs were attracted to his cave, and having partaken too freely of the wine, picked a quarrel with Herakles. Whereupon the hero routed them and pursued them all the way across the Peloponnesos to Cape Malea. In our relief the first figure at the left is Pholos, who holds a wine-cup in his right hand and raises his left in a gesture of surprise. Then comes Herakles with drawn bow, shooting at three centaurs who flee before him. Two of them carry clubs, the third is unarmed. All are posed in the same manner, with the left foreleg advanced, the equine hind legs placed side by side. The first and third look back, turning their heads completely about, following the regular Archaic formula for figures looking behind them. A second relief shows two recumbent sphinxes flanking what may be a small offering-stand or altar.

Assos, south of Troy and opposite Lesbos, is in the area of Eastern Greek style and the reliefs are essentially in the Eastern Greek tradition, though the emphasis on the undraped human figure, like the Doric style of the temple itself, suggests some influence from Mainland Greece. The reliefs are now generally thought to have been inspired by reliefs in terracotta which were commonly used to revet the superstructure of early temples in wood. Because of their primitive character, different dates inside the Archaic period have been suggested by different scholars, but sometime in the third quarter of the sixth century is, perhaps, the most acceptable date.

In the manufacture of small figures in terracotta, which served two purposes — for cheap dedicatory offerings at temples and for deposit in the graves of the dead — the Archaic period was a time of important developments. The "bird-faced" types (p. 29) continued in use, but in the seventh century somewhat more naturalistic figures began to be made, and the introduction of moulds for the heads (Fig. 57) and occasionally for whole figures marked a great advance. The sixth century also saw the development of hollow figures, in which the front was made in a mould and the back was a separate strip of clay, sometimes from a second mould, but usually without modelling. Figure 58 is a good example of a late sixth century type, obviously closely dependent on Ionizing female figures in marble. Most of these figures, like those of

later times, were painted in more or less naturalistic colors, commonly over a white slip, and these colors in rare cases are well preserved.

Among hand-made figures, special interest attaches to a series of types based on daily life, which often, in spite of crude modelling, testify to the keen observation of their makers (Fig. 59); especially noticeable in this series are the natural pose of the girl who peers into the cooking pot; the lamp on the high stand of the woman kneading bread, which suggests that the time is early morning; the boredom of the barber's customer; the real suggestion of weariness in the woodcutter. The realistic details, also, are often surprising, such as the cut cheese on the ground beside the woman grating cheese and the wrinkled forehead and bald pate of the old man grouped with the little girl. Such figures may well be called the ancestors of famous Tanagra figurines of later days. Whether they were intended to serve the dead in the tomb, like the figures of servants in early Egyptian tombs, or simply to surround him with familiar groups cannot be surely determined. The fact that similar figures are found as dedicatory offerings at temples suggests that the interpretation in any particular case lay rather in the mind of the giver than in that of the maker.

In South Italy, owing, perhaps, to the difficulty of obtaining marble, larger statuettes were often made of clay, and the best of these, from the late Archaic period, compare favorably with work in stone (Fig. 60).

Another field in which marked advances were made was the engraving of gems. This art, highly developed in the Bronze Age, was almost lost in Greece and the islands in the Geometric period, during which mainly soft stones, with scratched or incised figures of simple design, were produced. In the seventh century the use of hard varieties of stone was revived. It is generally believed that the revival came about through new contacts with the East in the period of Oriental influence; it seems significant that the two forms of gems most in vogue in the sixth century are the scarab, a stone carved on the convex back to represent the scarabaeus beetle, surely derived from Egypt, and the scaraboid, a stone of similar shape, but plain on the back, which seems to have come from the Syrian region.

All these gems are in intaglio, worked by means of small drills and points, but the best of them show close analogies to the finest reliefs in stone, and we can only wonder at the skill of the makers, working at such a small scale. Among the best in the collection are the kneeling bowman, the striding Athena, and the young man with the restive horse, this with the signature of Epimenos (Fig. 61). Since these gems were regularly used for seals, it is not surprising to find similar designs on the bezels of a series of gold rings.

Closely analogous to the progress in gem-engraving is the improvement shown in coins of the Archaic period, since the technique of cutting dies for coins is similar to that of engraving gems. Even in antiquity there were many different ideas about the origin of coinage. Modern critics have generally favored the tradition that the first

coins were struck in Lydia in the seventh century B.C. From Lydia, it is held, the practice of coining money was almost immediately adopted by the Greek cities of Asia Minor and later by the cities of the Mainland. One argument for such a theory is that many early coins are made of electrum, which is found especially in the region of Mount Tmolus and Mount Sipylus in Lydia. In the sixth century, pure gold and pure silver began to be used. The famous King Croesus of Lydia (560-546 B.C.) was perhaps the first to introduce coins of pure gold (Fig. 62). These coins, Babylonian staters, show the foreparts of a lion and bull confronting each other on the obverse and two square incuses on the opposite side. In the Greek cities, silver was the favorite medium throughout the Archaic time.

The process of striking the coin remained essentially the same from first to last. A design was cut in intaglio in a die and this was firmly fixed in an anvil. Then the blank of metal, which had been cast to the desired size and weight, was heated and placed on the die and the metal was driven into the die by a punch or punches. Many early coins have only the punch marks on the reverse, or tail side. The next step was the use of a die on the punch, to produce a design on both sides of the coin. Since the punches were normally square-ended and of smaller diameter than the blank, the resulting design appears inside a square sinking, which is technically known as the *incuse square*, and persists in some series for a long period. In other cities, a round punch began to be used even in the Archaic period, but because of the method of striking, most Greek coins are more or less convex on the obverse side and concave on the reverse.

Designs for the coins, technically referred to as "type of the obverse" and "type of the reverse," were chosen primarily to suggest the issuing city. Since the protecting divinity played a large part in the Greek conception of the *polis*, many coins carry the head or the full figure of a god or goddess. Others have to do with some characteristic product of the region, and a small, but interesting, class of designs, such as the rose (*rhodon*) of Rhodes, or the four-legged table (*trapeza*) of Trapezus, seem to be punning references to the name of the issuing city.

During the Archaic period most types are comparatively simple. Heads of divinities are more often used than full figures, and many coins have animals or monsters which look like inheritances from the period of Oriental influence, though a Greek probably found some connection between such designs and the issuing states. One curious technical development is found in the coins of a whole group of cities in South Italy, where the same design appears in relief on the obverse and in intaglio on the reverse. This was accomplished by the use of a puncheon with the design in relief and by careful adjustment of die and punch in striking. An early issue of Poseidonia (Fig. 63) is a good example.

Many Archaic coins carry no inscription, which sometimes makes their assignment to the issuing city difficult. When inscriptions appear, they usually give the



name of the issuing state, most often in abbreviated form. Thus the coin struck at Poseidonia carries the first three letters of the name of the city and the inscription on the coin of Athens (Fig. 64) is similar. On the silver Campanian stater Poseidon is an Archaic god of great power, striding to right, upper body in front view, and hurling his trident in his raised right hand. His chlamys or cloak hangs from his back over his arms. His strength is that of the gods battling the giants on the north frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi. The coin of Athens, likewise struck in silver, presents the head of Athena in crested helmet on the obverse, and an owl and olive twig with the city's abbreviation on the reverse. Athena is delightfully crude within the late Archaic framework, with large nose, eye and ear and with hair on her forehead in wavy strands ending in curls.

In vase painting the Archaic period was the time when the so-called black-figure style came to its full development and then in the last quarter of the sixth century gradually gave way to the red-figure style. The black-figure style was slowly evolved from the earlier Orientalizing style by the abandonment of motifs drawn from the East, the giving up of filling ornaments, and increasing emphasis on human figures, painted in silhouette directly on the clay, with incision and added red or white for details. In Attica, the fine native clay was often given a red wash to produce a warm background for the black figures. The development came about gradually during the first decades of the sixth century B.C., and by 560 few of the old Orientalizing motifs survived. For subjects the masters of the black-figure style usually chose scenes from mythology or from daily life; their favorite hero was Herakles. The human figures, like other products of Archaic art, reveal the limitations of the painters. They rarely attempt anything except profile poses. They use white overcolor for the flesh of women to distinguish them from male figures. Though the heads are in profile, eyes are in full face, and here again the sexes are differently rendered; the man's eye is round, the woman's almond-shaped. The folds of drapery are formally treated in long, sweeping incised lines, with edges falling in zigzag folds.

Many black-figured vases were signed by their makers, sometimes by the master-potter or owner of the pottery only (the common formula is "So-and-so made me"), sometimes by both potter and painter ("So-and-so made, So-and-so painted"), and it is clear that some of the workshops employed several painters. Another fairly common type of inscription is a proper name with the adjective *kalos*, a formula which is shown by literary references to be a form of compliment. For several reasons these *kalos*-names are believed to refer to the *jeunesse dorée* of Athens and to be a record of patronage or a bid for patronage, to be translated, perhaps, "I give you so and so" or "so and so is handsome." Vases with the same *kalos*-names must be roughly contemporary and many interesting groupings can be made on this basis.

By the middle of the century the Attic potteries obtained what amounted to a monopoly in the manufacture of fine painted wares, and their products have been

found very widely distributed. Among the important finding places for Attic black-figured ware are the tombs of the Etruscans in Italy.

The shapes most used during the period of the black-figure style (Fig. 65) were the amphora, a storage vase for oil and wine; the krater, a bowl for mixing wine and water; and several forms of drinking vessels — kylix, kantharos, skyphos (or kotyle), and rhyton. The hydria, a three-handled water-jar, the oinochoe, or wine-pourer, and the lekythos, primarily a vase for oil, were also considerably used.

Among less common forms are the deinós or lebes, another type of mixing bowl; the pyxis, or round box for jewelry or cosmetics; the aryballos and the alabastron, from which oil was poured for anointing the body; the phiale, a drinking cup which was also used for libations; and the kyathos, or ladle.

Among early black-figured vases is a curious group, often called "Tyrrhenian" by earlier critics because many were found in Tuscany. They are now recognized as early Attic chiefly on the basis of the alphabet used in the inscriptions. They are interesting because they retain characteristics of the Orientalizing period, in the use of friezes of animals and monsters for secondary decoration. Thus on the Museum example (Fig. 66) the principal zone on one side is decorated with the battle of Herakles and the Amazons and on the other with dancing men between two swans; and below are two bands with groups of animals and monsters, suggestive of the typical decoration of Corinthian vases. Because of these elements, it has been suggested that the "Tyrrhenian" vases are the product of Athenian potters who were trying to oust their Corinthian rivals from the profitable market in Etruria. On grounds of style other "Tyrrhenian" amphorae have been associated with the Boston vase, and the painter has been called the Timiades Painter from the name of the fallen warrior in the battle scene.<sup>2</sup>

Among the masters of the developed black-figure style, the most famous are the Amasis Painter and Exekias. Of the former, the Museum has two signed vases, neither of which, unfortunately, is well-preserved. Figure 67, however, with its two warriors, exhibits the qualities of the painter — his careful, meticulous drawing and his remarkable use of the engraved line for details. The butting rams which form the shield device of the warrior at the right were produced entirely with the graver. Between the two figures is the signature "Amasis made me." Since the style of almost all the vases with this signature is quite uniform, the master who did the actual painting is called the Amasis Painter.

Most of the eleven vases with the signature of Exekias record him as "maker," but on two he signs "Exekias made and painted me," so that we are sure that he was a painter as well as a factory-owner or potter. The Museum has no signed vase by this master, but one unsigned amphora (Fig. 68) assigned to him. The subjects on the two sides are related, on one the harnessing of the pole horses to the chariot, and on the

2. Bothmer, D. von, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, p. 7.

other the trace horses. Especially original is the treatment of the first scene, with one horse rearing as he is led under the yoke. On the reverse, the horse in front view is an interesting attempt to break away from the profile which is all that the black-figure painters usually essay. In a narrow frieze on the shoulder a cock-fight is painted, and below the larger fields, the lions and boars are reminiscent of the earlier style.

Roughly contemporary with Exekias and Amasis was another master who has been named the "Affecter" because of his manneristic, slender types which are repeated in varying combinations on more than a hundred vases. Of the five in the Museum the amphora, Figure 69, is, perhaps, the most interesting. On one side the central figure is an enthroned Zeus, with a youth (perhaps Ganymede) waving farewell as he departs. The other figures are presumably gods, but none is exactly characterized. The other major scene shows a god following a youth, and on the neck are four similar figures, in two scenes of pursuit. The great use of the graver reminds us of the Amasis Painter, but the exaggeratedly slender proportions and the formality of the gesturing hands suggest a painter who looked backwards rather than forwards and regarded his figures as decorations pure and simple.

Of the treatment of mythological subjects Figure 70 may serve as an example. The subject is the birth of Athena. It is painted in accordance with the usual black-figure formula: the goddess, a tiny, doll-like figure, springs full-armed from the head of Zeus in the presence of other divinities, Hermes, Apollo, Eileithyia (the goddess of childbirth), and Ares. The reverse shows a bold and not altogether unsuccessful attempt to represent a four-horse chariot in front view.

Interesting examples of black-figure painting on a larger scale are two plaques of terracotta about fifteen inches square (Fig. 71). Such slabs were used during the Archaic period to form friezes for the decoration of tombs, and the subjects had to do with the funeral ceremonies. On one of the Museum examples, three mourning women are represented, on the other two women mourn for a third, who is laid out on a funeral couch. The style is that of the early black-figured vases, with the upper body turned to show the far shoulder, only slight indication of folds in the drapery, and, in the second scene, a further allusion to death in the three flying birds and the Siren below the couch. The date cannot be far from 600 B.C.

In the last quarter of the sixth century a certain decline can be seen in the black-figure style. The drawing often is hasty and more careless than in earlier works. A partial explanation may be found in the fact that about 525 B.C. a new style — the red-figured — came into vogue, of which more will be said later. Presumably the younger painters turned more and more to the new method, and only older men clung to the black-figure style. However that may be, it certainly is true that the latest black-figure vases are generally less carefully painted than the earlier ones. A good example is the amphora (Fig. 72) with its amusing scenes from daily life. On one side a shoemaker is preparing to cut a pair of soles for an Athenian lady who stands on a low bench. Op-

posite him are a helper sitting on a low stool and an interested spectator. The furniture of the shop is suggested by the deep basin in front of the bench and lasts and other objects hung on the wall. To a modern critic the lady seems to be violently protesting and the humorous implication may well be intentional. On the opposite side is represented a blacksmith's shop, again with spectators, and with tools and other paraphernalia of the shop distributed over the background.

Among the evidences of the expansion of Attic industry during the black-figure period are the works of the so-called "little masters" or "miniature masters" who devoted themselves almost exclusively to producing kylikes with very slight decoration, sometimes only the signature of the maker between the handle-palmettes, sometimes with a single animal or a single figure on the lip on each side, sometimes with a simple design on the interior. Our example (Fig. 73) is one of several in the possession of the Museum. It is signed by Hermogenes, whose name is found on at least eighteen other kylikes. Of another "little master," Tleson, more than forty signed cups are known.

Finally, a very special class of black-figured vases is the series of so-called Panathenaic amphorae (Fig. 74). These were given as prizes at the Panathenaic games held at Athens. Several hundred have been preserved dating all the way from about 560 B.C. to almost the end of the Hellenistic period. The scheme of decoration is the same in all: on one side a figure of Athena as Promachos, the "champion" of the people, between two columns, each usually surmounted by a cock; on the other a representation of the contest in which the prize was won. Thus a victory in boxing is suggested by the two athletes between a trainer and a spectator. These vases come in several sizes. The full-sized ones usually have an inscription, "from the games at Athens," running down the side of the left-hand column, and about a dozen, all of fourth century date, record down the right-hand column the name of an archon, so that they can be dated exactly. The example illustrated here is full size, but not inscribed.

These vases throughout were painted in the black-figure technique, and the Athena exhibits Archaic mannerisms, but in the fifth century the scenes of the reverse came to be painted in a free style. The reason for the retention of old-fashioned type of painting was, no doubt, conservatism. Fourth century painters introduced some variation in the figures on top of the columns and after 348 B.C. turned Athena to face right instead of left. But in general the scheme of decoration adopted in the sixth century was retained to the end. Since most of the vases can be dated earlier than the third century, it is believed that metal vases or some other form of prize were substituted for a high proportion of them about 300 B.C.

About 525 B.C., as has already been noted, a new red-figure style made its appearance. This was practically a reversal of the older technique, in that the figures were left in the color of the clay and the black glaze was used for the background. For



inner markings, instead of the incised line of the black-figure technique, the black glaze, often diluted to varied tones of brown, was used. The change had two distinct advantages: it made it possible to cover a much larger proportion of the surface with the lustrous black glaze and it gave the painters a better opportunity to display their skill in line drawing. During the last years of the sixth century the two techniques were sometimes combined on a single vase. Especially interesting is a group of amphorae, which are often called "bilingual," since they are painted on one side in the black-figure technique, on the other in red-figure. Among the Athenian factories that of the master-potter Andokides seems to have experimented more than others in the two techniques; of the eight vases which carry his signature, two are black-figured, four are red-figured (one over a white slip), and two are partly red-figured. Four of the eight are very similar in style, and so are grouped together as works of the Andokides Painter. The Museum is fortunate in possessing two of his unsigned "bilingual" vases. One has a representation of Herakles and the Cretan bull on each side (Fig. 75), the other Achilles and Ajax seated playing a game akin to checkers or dice.

#### Captions for illustrations pp. 58-84

41. Bronze statuette of Apollo dedicated by Mantiklos; seventh century B.C. (03.997)
42. Bronze statuette of Apollo from Olympia; sixth century B.C. (03.996)
43. Hermes holding a ram; bronze statuette, fifth century B.C. (99.489)
44. Artemis dedicated by Chimaridas; bronze statuette, sixth century B.C. (98.658)
45. Silver-gilt heads of divinities; sixth century B.C. (58.395, 396)
46. Bronze votive group; East Greek, ca. 600-575 B.C. (58.696)
47. Roman version of a female figure of ca. 520 B.C. (23.1)
48. Limestone head from Sicyon; about 530 B.C. (04.10)
49. Limestone figure of a man; about 550 B.C. (17.598)
50. Marble torso of a young man; about 550-540 B.C. (39.552)
51. Fragmentary marble head; about 530 B.C. (34.169)
52. Unfinished male head; late Archaic period (36.218)
53. Sphinx from an Attic grave-monument; marble, about 530 B.C. (40.576)
54. Limestone lion from Perachora; about 550 B.C. (97.289)
55. Attic grave stele from Boeotia; about 550 B.C. (08.288)
56. Relief from the temple at Assos; Herakles pursuing the centaurs, sixth century B.C. (84.67)
57. Terracotta figure with moulded head; sixth century B.C. (01.7769)
58. Moulded terracotta figure; sixth century B.C. (34.121)
59. Daily life figures in terracotta; late sixth century B.C. (97.351, 01.7784, 97.350, 01.7783, 97.352, 01.7788)

60. Terracotta head, South Italian; early fifth century B.C. (13.223)
61. Three Archaic chalcedony scaraboids (21.1194, 27.676, 27.677)
62. Gold coin of Croesus; about 560-546 B.C. (04.1160)
63. Campanian stater of Poseidonia; late sixth century B.C. (04.352)
64. Tetradrachm of Athens; late sixth century B.C. (00.250)
65. Shapes of Greek vases
66. "Tyrrhenian" amphora by the Timiades Painter; 575-550 B.C. (98.916)
67. Amphora with the signature of Amasis; sixth century B.C. (01.8026)
68. Amphora by Exekias; sixth century B.C. (89.273)
69. Amphora by the "Affecter"; sixth century B.C. (99.516)
70. Amphora with the birth of Athena; sixth century B.C. (00.330)
71. Terracotta plaques with scenes of mourning; about 600 B.C. (27.147, 146)
72. Shoemaker's shop and blacksmith's shop; amphora, late black-figure style (01.8035)
73. Kylix with the signature of Hermogenes (95.17)
74. Panathenaic amphora; sixth century B.C. (01.8127)
75. Amphora attributed to the Lysippides Painter (side A) and the Andokides Painter (side B) (99.538)

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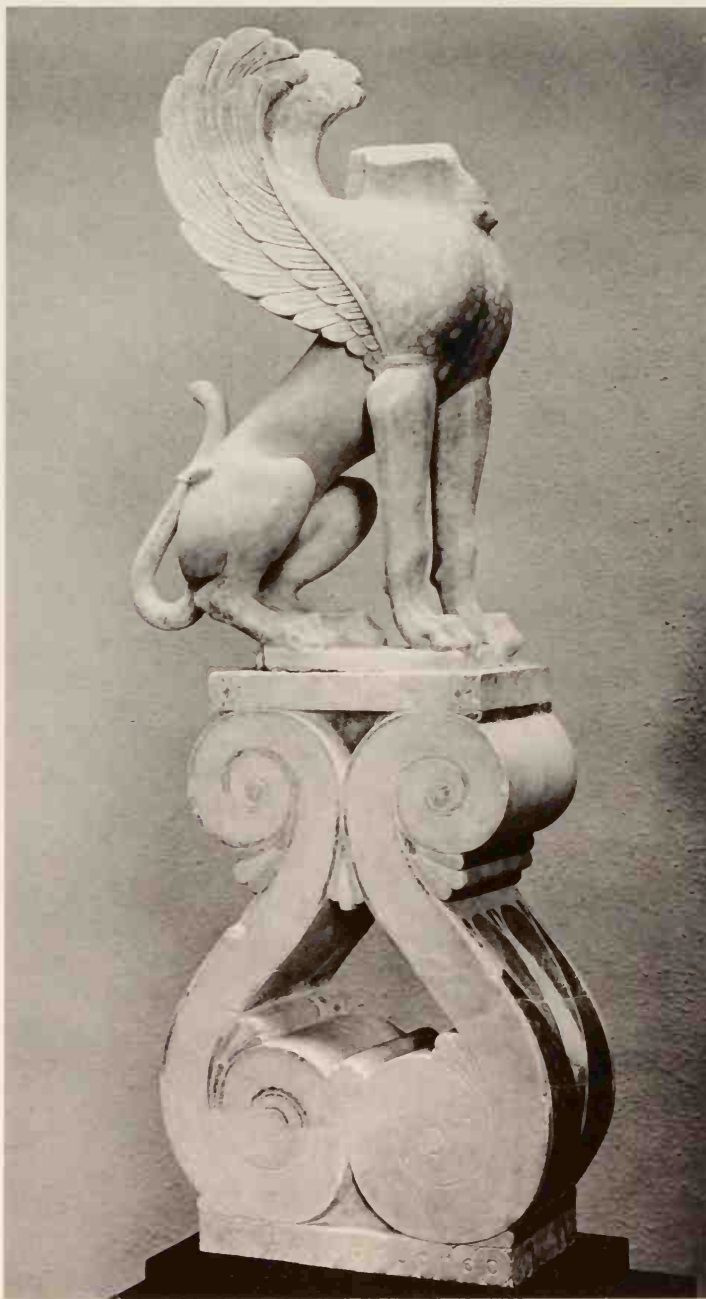


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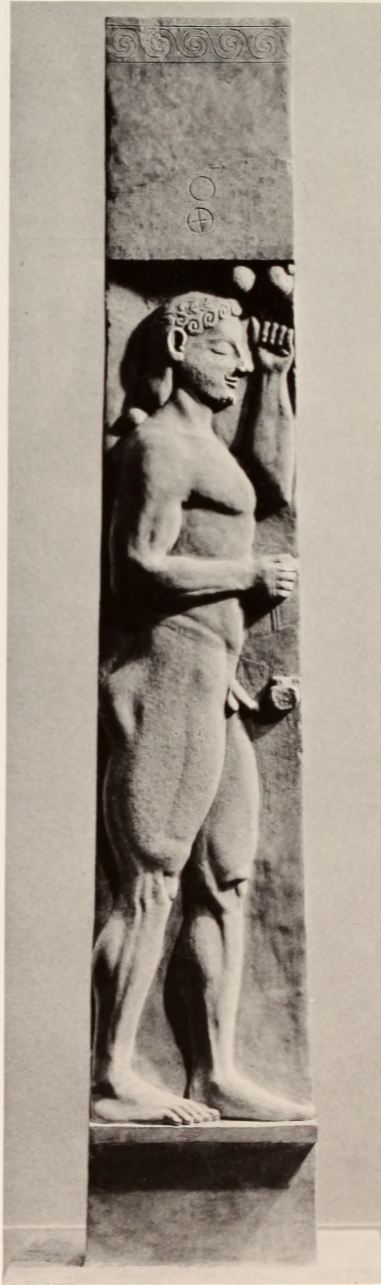




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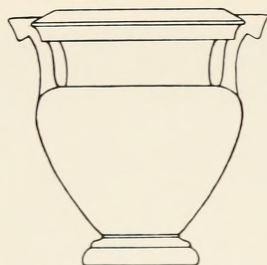
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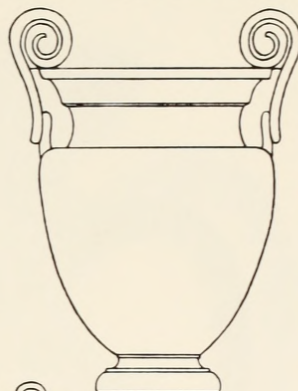




Amphora



Column Krater



Volute Krater



Kylix



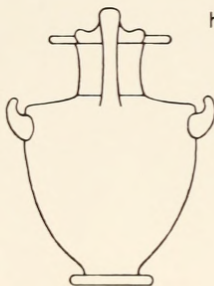
Kantharos



Skyphos



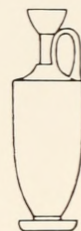
Rhyton



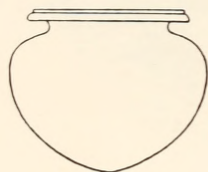
Hydria



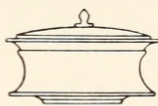
Oinochoe



Lekythos



Deinos or Lebes



Pyxis



Aryballos



Alabastron



Phiale



Kyathos



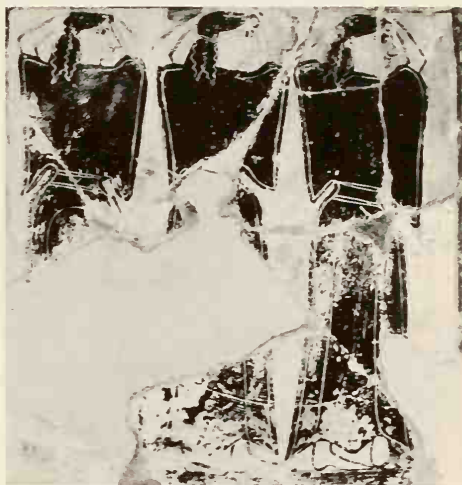












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# The Fifth Century: First Half

THE fifth century witnessed a great flowering of all the arts. For this, political events were largely responsible. During the last years of the sixth century the Persian kings had extended their dominion over a great part of Western Asia and over Egypt. In the fifth century they attempted to add Mainland Greece to their empire and were defeated in three famous battles, Marathon in 490, Salamis in 480, and Plataea in 479, battles which may fairly be said to have determined the future history of Europe. In their victories the Greeks saw the seal of the gods set upon their civilization as against the despotic governments of the East. The result was a great outburst of activity, not only in architecture, sculpture, and the other arts, but also in literature, in the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the comedies of Aristophanes, the odes of Pindar and Bacchylides, the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides.

From the point of view of the history of art, the years from 480 to 450 B.C. are sometimes distinguished as the Transitional period, since it was in these years that the last lingering Archaic mannerisms disappeared. The progress of the sculptors can be clearly traced in a series of marbles. In the grave relief of a knight or armed rider (Fig. 76), from the vicinity of Thebes, the horse's head was not in profile in the usual Archaic manner, but was turned toward the spectator. The emphasis on anatomical details, especially the veins along the belly, testifies to greater interest in naturalistic representation. At the same time the very formal folds of the rider's cape, the so-called *chlamys*, still follow the spirit of the Archaic time. The hole in the top of the knight's left hand and another close to the horse's neck show that the reins were of bronze. Such a use of metal for details in marble reliefs was common in fifth century sculpture.

The statue of a boy (Fig. 77), a copy of Roman times, is in the pose most characteristic of late Archaic and Transitional sculpture, with the weight on one leg (here the right) and the other leg bent at the knee. This modification of the "frontality," which is so marked in early sculpture in stone, was made in the late Archaic time and was the first step in the development of new approaches to the human form in sculpture. This period saw new understanding of the breadth of presentation allowed in classical comprehension of the rôle of living things in ancient art. The immediate resulting

changes — the lowering of the left hip and the right shoulder, the slight curve in the central line of the torso — are well shown in our statue. A comparison with similar figures found in Athens suggests that the original was a work of an Attic sculptor to be dated between 480 and 460 B.C. The statue of a youth found on the Acropolis and often attributed to Kritios, co-sculptor of the second Tyrannicide group, has been cited as a slightly earlier work from the same circle.

The statuette of Herakles (Fig. 78) is interesting from many points of view. That it is not an original work of the fifth century, but a copy made in Roman times, is proved by the awkward tree-trunk support and by the fact that the figure appears on many reliefs of Roman date, including coins, gems, and a terracotta lamp. All this points to a famous original, and good arguments have been advanced for regarding Myron, the first of the great Greek sculptors, who was active about the middle of the fifth century, as the author. Among them is the fact that Myron was a worker in bronze, and the tree-stump support of the copyist is usually a sign that the original was in that material. The sturdy proportions and extremely careful anatomical detail recall the style of Myron as we know it from copies of his famous Diskobolos, or Discus-Thrower; especially interesting is the swollen cartilage of the ears, which frequently is found in figures of boxers. The identification as Herakles is based on the club and the lion's skin over the left arm, which are regular attributes of the hero; reproductions on gems show that the left hand held a bow, another common attribute of Herakles. The very formal arrangement of hair and beard and the hard treatment of the muscles suggest a date about 450 B.C. for the original; the copy was made in the second century A.D.

The most important piece of fifth century sculpture in the Museum is the three-sided relief (Fig. 79), often referred to as The Boston Relief or Throne. This is known to have been found in Rome in the same region as the similar three-sided relief now in the Museo delle Terme, commonly designated from the name of the Papal family on whose holdings it was found as the "Ludovisi Throne." That the two were designed as pendants seems certain; the most plausible conjecture as to their use is that they served to decorate the narrow ends of a long rectangular altar.<sup>1</sup>

Many theories as to the meaning of the reliefs have been advanced by different scholars.<sup>2</sup> The most generally accepted is perhaps that the long side of the Ludovisi relief represents the birth of Aphrodite from the sea; the two subordinate figures might well be the Horae, Seasons, or Fates, who "received" her, according to a tradition that goes back to Homer, and the stones under their feet, the pebbles of the shore.

1. The saga of the discovery of the Throne has been set forth by E. Nash, "Über die Auffindung und den Erwerb des 'Bostoner Thrones'," *Römische Mitteilungen* 66, 1959, pp. 104-137.

2. Lately, E. Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin, 1959, has seen the principal side of the Boston Throne as showing Eros weighing the lives of Adonis and Tithonos between Aphrodite and Eos.

The figures on the sides then represent worshippers of Aphrodite — a nude courtesan playing the flute and a bride offering incense.

On our relief, the principal figure is surely Eros, who regularly appears as a winged boy in the fifth century. He holds a pair of scales, in each pan of which is a small male figure represented in relief. Evidently the left-hand figure is the winner, for the female figure on that side is smiling and raising her hand in a gesture of surprise and pleasure, while the figure at the right bows her head in grief. The subject may be the contest of Aphrodite and Persephone for the beautiful Adonis, which, according to Greek writers, became so violent that Zeus finally ruled that Adonis must spend a third of the year with Aphrodite in the joyous upper world, a third with Persephone in the gloomy underworld, and a third as he chose. Since he naturally chose to spend his free third with Aphrodite, she might well be regarded as the winner in the strife of the goddesses. Some weight is added to the arguments for this interpretation by the objects in the lower corners of the relief, which are repeated on the short sides. In the lower right-hand corner is a pomegranate, a fruit always associated with Persephone; and the fish of the left-hand corner is one of the many attributes of Aphrodite. The figures on the short sides of the Boston relief — an old woman curiously crowded into a narrow panel and a boy playing a lyre — may be other worshippers of Aphrodite; and the four single figures, taken together, may be meant to convey the idea that every age worships the great goddess of love.

For the history of art the importance of these reliefs is that they reveal the progress of the Greek artists in the decade 470-460 B.C., and are wonderful examples of the art of the Transitional period. In the profile heads the eyes are almost correctly foreshortened, though the upper lid does not overlap the lower at the outer corner. Hair is still rendered in somewhat pattern-like forms. In the two goddesses the transition from upper body in full front to legs in profile is not very successfully managed. But in these figures the suggestion of emotion is far in advance of anything attempted before 480, and in the seated flute-player and the old woman, the master comes close to correct representation. The old woman bears testimony to the originality of the sculptor; only rarely in fifth century sculpture do we find such frank characterization of age as appears in the wrinkles of her brow and cheek.

The Ionic volutes of the Boston relief and certain other details have led many critics to suggest that both reliefs came originally from Ionia or from some Greek city in South Italy strongly under Ionian influence. The latter seems the more probable conjecture, but like so many of the problems raised by these reliefs, it can only be settled by more thorough exploration.

In vase-painting the supremacy which Athens had gained in the sixth century as a centre for the production of fine pottery was maintained through the greater part of the fifth century. Although the black-figure technique was employed for the Panathenaic amphorae and occasionally for small and carelessly painted wares, the red-

figure style was normally used for the finer vases. The method of painting over a white slip was employed to some extent during the first half of the century, but reached its fullest development in the second half (see pp. 119-120).

The drawing on the red-figure vases shows a steady development from what is called the early severe style (about 525-500 B.C.) to the later severe or "full Archaic" style (about 500-480 B.C.), and the Transitional style (about 480-450 B.C.). Potters and painters continued to sign their products and the evidence furnished by these attested works has made it possible to ascribe a large number of unsigned works to definite workshops and individual artists. The Museum possesses several vases, signed or unsigned, from each of the four most famous factories – those of Euphronios, Douris, Hieron, and Brygos. Other artists whose names are unknown have been identified by their individual styles, and a complicated system of nomenclature has developed. Painters are named from the "favorites" whose names are frequently written on the vases (for example, the Panaitios Painter); from the subject on a particular vase (the Pan Painter); from the collection of which a vase now forms a part (the Chicago Painter); and in various other ways.<sup>3</sup>

The successive steps in the production of a red-figured vase appear to have been as follows: taking the vase in "leather-hard" condition (when it had been thoroughly dried in the sun), the master laid out his design with a blunt-pointed instrument. He then traced the outline of each figure, first with a fine black relief line, and then with a broad "contour stripe" about an eighth of an inch wide outside this line. Then he painted the interior details, sometimes in dilute glaze, which produced various shades of brown. The background was then painted in (presumably by a young apprentice, who would be prevented by the contour stripe from running over the figures), and finally the inscriptions were painted over the black background in lustreless red or in white; this has often flaked off, but usually sufficient traces are left to make the inscription legible.

One of the interesting vases in the Museum collection is a fragmentary kylix which has for the interior design a painter engaged in decorating a kylix (Fig. 80). He holds the vase in his left hand and is painting the outside with what looks like a brush with long bristles, which he holds between his thumb and forefinger, steadying it with the second and third fingers. His left hand also holds a pointed instrument, possibly the tool with which the preliminary sketch was drawn. His attitude has been well characterized as suggesting "the quiet absorption required by a delicate task."<sup>4</sup>

3. The leader in this field is Professor Sir John Beazley, of Oxford University, who has summarized his many researches in *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942. A new edition is in preparation. The attributions suggested in the text are those of Professor Beazley.

4. Richter, G. M. A., *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, p. 72; cf. also Beazley's remarks in *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens*, p. 10, and J. V. Noble, "The Technique of Attic Vase-Painting," *American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 1960, pp. 307-318.



Behind the painter is his knotted staff and on the wall his oil flask and strigil are suspended.

Among other red-figured vases one of the earliest is the plate on which Herakles is depicted dragging Cerberus from Hades with Hermes as his escort (Fig. 81). This may be dated about 520 B.C., or a little later. In many ways the execution is reminiscent of the black-figure technique: all three figures are strictly in profile; the edges of the garments have the zigzag forms of Archaic art; there is little anatomical detail; and the stippling of Herakles's lion-skin and the head of Cerberus, as well as the rendering of his mane, are suggestive of the use of the graver for such details in black-figure painting. But the eye, though still in profile, is no longer the round eye which is consistently used for men in the older style, but is almond-shaped. Evidently the painter no longer felt the necessity of differentiating the sexes by different forms for the eye. The only supplementary color is red, which is sparingly used — for the chain of Cerberus, for his tongue, and for the claws of the hind-paws of Herakles's lion-skin.

To the painter of our vase, for whom Beazley proposed the name the Cerberus Painter, thirteen other red-figured vases have been attributed, as well as fragments of terracotta plaques found on the Acropolis at Athens, which are painted over a white slip in the black-figure technique.<sup>5</sup>

Slightly later, but still before 510 B.C., is a lekythos (Fig. 82) which in its squat proportions suggests the form which was in use during the black-figure period. This is decorated with a lively scene representing a sacrificial procession. The Ionic column at the right with a red fillet tied about it is meant to suggest a temple. The woman who leads the procession carries on her head a ceremonial basket and her broad fillet has a red tassel. The halters about the horns of the cows are in red, as are also the wreaths of the two attendants and the branches which they carry in their hands; from the cows' horns hang long streamers, composed of tufts of red and white wool. The woman's himation has all the elaborate mannerisms of earlier days, but the cloaks of the men are rendered in a much simpler and more natural manner, and the artist no longer used white for the woman's flesh. Other suggestions of increasing realism appear in the indication of the first growth of beard on the cheek of the first attendant, and the attempt at greater expressiveness in the eye by moving the eyeball slightly off centre. On the lip of the lekythos is the signature "Gales made," from which the artist has been called the Gales Painter. But only one other vase from this workshop has as yet been identified.<sup>6</sup>

5. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, pp. 55-56. On the evidence of one of these plaques, J. Boardman has identified the Cerberus Painter as Paseas: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 75, 1955, p. 154 f.

6. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, pp. 30-31.

One of the most important painters of the last quarter of the sixth century was Epiktetos, whose signature is associated with those of no less than six potters. Of him Beazley has written: "You cannot draw better, you can only draw differently."<sup>7</sup> In the Museum collection there are three fragmentary vases which, though unsigned, surely come from the hand of this master. One is the central medallion from a kylix, decorated with a kneeling silen holding a drinking horn (Fig. 83). The simply drawn figure admirably fills the space at the painter's disposal. Most indicative of progress is the not altogether successful attempt to represent the foreshortened left leg. Such attempts at foreshortening began to be introduced in the last decade of the sixth century. On this basis Epiktetos's silen may be dated about 500 B.C.

For the development of the vase-painter's art about 490 B.C., a large amphora of Panathenaic shape by the Kleophrades Painter may be studied (Fig. 84). This has on one side a victorious athlete wearing a wreath and holding the gifts of enthusiastic admirers — a hare, apparently alive, to judge from the wide-open eyes and the contracted hind legs, a long knotted walking-stick, and an aryballos. The two elaborate red fillets tied about the young man's left arm and left thigh, as well as the wreath on his head, furnish the proof that he is a victor in the games. Red is also used for all three wreaths and for the cords by which the hare and the aryballos are suspended. The figure on the reverse, who also wears a wreath, is plausibly explained as a friend who brings a wreath as his offering. Here again the skillful, rapid drawing is noteworthy, as well as the indication of anatomical detail in thinned glaze. Both eyeballs are moved to the inner corners of the eyes, and again we have an interesting touch of naturalism in the indication of the first growth of beard. But the foreshortening of the left shoulder (in the figure of the friend) is still an unsolved problem.

The full Archaic period witnessed a rapid advance, and with this period the greatest names in the history of vase-painting are associated. Most famous of all is Euphronios, whose career throws an interesting light on conditions in Athens at the end of the sixth century and the first quarter of the fifth. On four vases he signs as painter, on nine as potter, and there are two in which the verb is missing. Since the vases on which he signs as painter are earlier in style than those on which he signs as potter, it seems probable that he began as a painter for other men (one vase is signed by Kachrylion as potter) and then established his own factory and employed several different painters. A good example of his products is the large kylix shown in Figure 85. In the centre medallion two bearded revellers are represented, one playing the double flute, the other pivoting about his staff; in the field hangs a flute-case of spotted skin. At the left of the group is the potter's signature, written retrograde and curiously misspelled, "Euphronios epopiesen"; at the right, the familiar "I give you the youth" or, literally, "The youth is beautiful." On the outside is a band of revellers

7. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 18.

after a banquet, six on one side and five on the other, with the spaces under the handles appropriately filled by a wine-amphora and a dog. On each side is the inscription, "I give you Panaitios." From this the man who decorated the vase has been called the Panaitios Painter, and the many vases attributed to him on grounds of style suggest that he was the most important of the painters in Euphronios's atelier. In the Boston Museum alone there are four other vases attributed to his hand. The increasing confidence of the painters of this time appears clearly in the varied poses of the figures, in the reliance on simple line and the striving for expression by shifting the eyeball.

To the same date, about 480 B.C., can be assigned one of the finest and most famous vases in the Museum — the large skyphos which carries on one handle the incised inscription, "Hieron made," and on the other, "Makron painted" (Fig. 86). It has two related subjects: on one side, Helen is led away by Paris, on the other, she is discovered by Menelaos after the capture of Troy. In the first scene Aeneas, identified by an inscription, leads the way, followed by Paris, armed with helmet and spear, who has seized Helen by the wrist. Her hesitating step and lowered head admirably express reluctance, but the winged Eros between the two figures and the goddess Peitho (Persuasion) allow no doubt as to the outcome. The boy under the handle, with right hand raised in a gesture of surprise, has sometimes been interpreted as one of the sons of Helen and Menelaos. The scene on the opposite side agrees closely with the literary tradition of the meeting of Helen and Menelaos. The poet describes how the king drew his sword to kill his faithless wife, but was overcome by her beauty and forgave her. In Makron's version, Helen turns toward Menelaos, who quite clearly hesitates to draw his sword, or is, perhaps, thrusting it back into its scabbard. Behind Helen, Aphrodite stretches out her hands to protect her favorite, and the scene ends with two spectators, Kriseis and her father Kriseus, presumably variants on the Chryseis and Chryses of the *Iliad*. Under the handle is Priam with his sceptre, his age carefully emphasized by his bald head.

The Helen skyphos is generally regarded as Makron's masterpiece. Besides this, the Museum possesses four unsigned vases and a fragment attributed to him. Of three other vases in the collection with the signature of Hieron, two have been attributed to the Telephos Painter and one to the Amymone Painter.

Other famous masters of the full Archaic period are Douris and the Brygos Painter. Douris was a painter who in his earlier years worked for three different potters, but afterwards apparently set up his own shop. Four vases with his signature are in the Museum collection, as well as four others and a fragment assigned to him on grounds of style. Quite typical is a kylix (Fig. 87). Here, in the interior, is an athlete preparing to throw the discus; a pair of jumping weights hang behind him and a pick, used for breaking up the hard earth, is stuck in the ground. The combatants on the exterior, with their curious details of dress and armor, are hardly convincing, but show at least a striving for novelty.

The Brygos Painter is so called because most of the vases with the signature "Brygos made" are uniform in style and seem to be from the hand of a single master. No less than ten vases and three fragments in the Museum collection are assigned to this painter. We have also a handle, broken from a kylix, with the inscription, "Brygos made." A great favorite among these works is the skyphos, Figure 88. Here again are scenes from the gymnasium — on each side an athlete with jumping weights and a trainer, who is coaching him in the proper positions at the start of the long jump. Though the two subjects are the same, the painter has so varied the poses and the accessories that each composition has a character of its own. In one case, the athlete's mantle is laid on a stool behind him, with his sponge, oil-flask, and strigil above it, and behind the trainer is the pick for loosening the earth, and a bag for a discus; in the other, a small boy holds the athlete's strigil and sponge in one hand and his stick in the other. Only the two javelins stuck in the ground and the discus-bag at the left are common to both scenes. The Brygos Painter, in most of his compositions, aims at violent movement and even here his skill in suggesting life and vigor and his mastery of the human figure appear. Of the boy, Beazley has written, "one of the first, one of the only, real children in vase-painting."<sup>8</sup>

Another vase attributed to the Brygos Painter is a finely modelled rhyton or drinking-horn in the form of a donkey-head (Fig. 89). Such "plastic" vases were popular during the red-figure period, especially for drinking-horns. But for other shapes, also, such as the lekythos, the kantharos, and the oinochoe, modelled heads, especially of human figures, were sometimes used for the body of the vase.

The name masterpiece of the Pan Painter, an artist of the decades after Marathon and Salamis, is a bell krater in the collection. The painter is so termed from the scene on one side of the krater of the rustic god Pan pursuing a goatherd in the presence of a herm. The side illustrated here shows the death of the hunter Aktaion, turned into a stag and torn apart by his own dogs when he inadvertently gazed upon Artemis as she and her nymphs were bathing (Fig. 90). In the version of the myth shown here, Artemis is shooting down the unfortunate hunter, who is represented very much in his human form. The krater belongs to the maturity of the Pan Painter (about 470 B.C.) and shows him as an artist employing many of the advances of his age in an archaism of style, costume, and details which we have come to call Mannerism.

A large calyx krater by the artist known as the Altamura Painter, from the South Italian provenience of a vase in the British Museum, is an important document of the artistic and literary tradition in Athens during these decades. Painted about 465 B.C., the vase is a magnificent object, a beautifully thrown pot with fine glaze and exquisite pattern work in figures and secondary decoration. The monumental figures are drawn in a style which preserves much of the formality of an earlier period, contrasting

8. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 90, fig. 58.



sharply with the interlocking diagonals of the composition. Scenes from the Fall of Troy were chosen by the anonymous painter for his subject. A famous painting must have inspired the details, for the principal designs and motifs occur in certain scenes on other vases of the decades after 510 B.C.

King Priam, richly clad, sits on the altar in the court of his palace, where he has taken refuge during the attack by the Greeks (Fig. 91). Menacing him is Neoptolemos, grasping the young Astyanax, Hector's son, whom he will hurl from the walls of Troy a certain interval after he has slain the aged king. To the left of this scene Cassandra, Priam's prophetic daughter, clutches at the sacred image of Athena (perhaps the Palladion) in a vain effort to save herself from Ajax the Lesser, advancing from the right. Her hand and Priam's almost touch in pathetic gestures of helplessness and parting. On the other side of the vase, Aeneas carries his aged father Anchises from the burning city (Fig. 92). The ill-fated wife of Aeneas, Creusa, follows behind, and a young warrior who may be Ascanius leads the group. The area between the flight of Aeneas and the death of Priam is filled by two warriors, perhaps a Trojan covering the retreat and a Greek who menaces him. The scenes on this vase, dramatic in their directness, were adapted from Homer and several lost epic poems, notably the *Iliou-persis* of Stesichoros. They reflect the intense interest of the fifth century Athenians in their great literary and artistic heritage.

During the thirty years between 480 and 450, the last constraints of archaism were gradually overcome. Progress can best be traced, perhaps, in the treatment of the eye. The inner corner was gradually flattened, until at last the true profile rendering was attained. One of the last stages of the development can be seen in the lekythos, Figure 93. The subject is the death of the singer Orpheus, who, according to tradition, was torn to pieces by Thracian women. Here the composition is reduced to two figures. Orpheus, already with blood streaming from a wound in his right side and with only his lyre as a defensive weapon, sinks to the ground as the Thracian woman seizes his right arm and draws back her sword for a second thrust. Like other Thracians, she wears high boots and shows tattoo marks on her arms. The only suggestions of archaism are the faulty foreshortening of Orpheus's left leg and the fact that the eyeballs are still a bit too round. The vase may be dated about 460 B.C. It is listed by Beazley as "manner of the Achilles Painter."

Among the masters of the late Transitional period, one of the most noteworthy was Sotades. His name, as potter, is found on eight vases, and many others have been attributed to his workshop on grounds of style. A remarkable example is the rhyton in the form of a mounted Amazon (Fig. 94) with the signature, "Sotades made," incised on the base. Much of the original color is preserved. The body of the horse, the face and hands of the Amazon were white, her long-sleeved jerkin blue with red dots, her trousers dark purple, her shoes white with red soles and purple thongs. The horse's bridle and the reins which the Amazon held in her left hand were red. On the supports

under the horse's belly a crouching lion was painted on one side, and a wild boar on the other, details which suggest that the right hand originally held a hunting spear of wood or metal. On the cup at the top are two groups — in each case a combat between an Amazon and a Greek — in the red-figure style of just after the middle of the fifth century. These scenes, which relate to the compositions of the Parthenon metopes, suggest that this is one of the latest products of the master. The other vases with his signature are definitely Transitional in style. This vase was found by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition in one of the cemeteries of ancient Meroë in Ethiopia or Kush (modern Berber Province, Sudan) — a striking bit of evidence for the wide distribution of the works of the Athenian potters.<sup>9</sup>

Similar advances during the Transitional period can be seen in the other arts. A small bronze discus-thrower (Fig. 95) may be dated about 480 B.C. and shows the greater freedom of pose which was possible for workers in metal compared with workers in stone. The Aphrodite, serving as support for a well-preserved bronze mirror, dates from about 460 B.C. (Fig. 96), revealing in the simply treated Doric chiton the reaction from the "fussy" Ionic drapery of the late Archaic time. The dove on her right hand and the two flying Erotes serve to characterize the goddess, and the two dogs pursuing a hare (a third dog is lost) add an amusing touch.

Characteristic of the late Transitional age is a series of large terracotta half-figures of Demeter (Fig. 97) which were placed in the graves as protectors of the dead. Elaborate treatment of hair and face contrasts with the summary reduction of the arms to curves leading up to the simple gestures of the fingers.

In coins, Archaic mannerisms lingered longer than in the other arts, and the "Transitional" period in this field is sometimes dated 480 to 415 B.C. One reason for such conservatism is perhaps that many cities were unwilling to make changes in types that had become established and well recognized. The engravers in the Greek cities of Sicily advanced more rapidly than those of the Mainland. Very famous is the large dekadrachm or ten-drachma piece issued by Gelon, King of Syracuse, to commemorate his victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C. (Fig. 98). According to a tradition preserved by the historian Diodorus (xi. 26), Demarete, the wife of Gelon, interceded for the Carthaginian envoys who came to make peace, and they, in gratitude, presented her with a wreath of gold weighing a hundred talents. From the proceeds of this a series of silver coins of the unusual weight of ten drachmas were struck which were called "Demareteia." Our coin is the best preserved of the few that have survived. It has on the obverse the racing chariot with Nike crowning the horses, which had appeared before on the Syracusan coinage, but the fleeing lion in the exergue is an innovation, to be interpreted, no doubt, as symbolical of the defeated Carthaginians. On the reverse is the traditional type — a female head

9. D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, p. 222; D. Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and its Excavations*, Boston, 1958, p. 126.

surrounded by dolphins, probably representing Arethusa, the nymph of the famous spring in Syracuse. Though the eye is not foreshortened and the hair is somewhat formal, the advance over Archaic designs is clear.

Equally characteristic of the Transitional stage is a tetradrachm of Selinus, which is dated about 467-455 B.C. (Fig. 99). Here again appears the chariot which was such a favorite with the Sicilian die-engravers, but this one is driven by Artemis and beside her is Apollo drawing his bow. The complicated reverse design shows the increasing confidence of the designer. The river-god Selinus, holding a branch of laurel in his left hand, advances to pour a libation on an altar decorated with a cock; behind him is a statue of a bull on a base and above it a leaf of *selinon*, the plant which gave its name to the river and so to the town. The whole is thought to refer to the deliverance of the city from a pestilence caused by the stagnation of the waters of the river.

Roughly contemporary with the coin of Selinus is a tetradrachm of Sicilian Naxos (Fig. 100). Here the bearded head of Dionysos still betrays Archaic mannerisms, but the boldly foreshortened Silenus holding up a kantharos is worked out with great skill — indeed, the engraver, in his desire to display his knowledge of anatomy, has decidedly overemphasized the muscles of the abdomen.

In engraved gems of the first half of the fifth century qualities similar to those of contemporary coins appear, but the gem-engravers, like the sculptors and the vase-painters, abandoned Archaic mannerisms by the middle of the century. Figure 101, a sard intaglio which may be dated about 460 B.C., is a fine example of the Transitional phase. Apollo, holding a sceptre, a hawk, and a spray of laurel, is accompanied by a roebuck. The frontal pose with one knee bent is successfully rendered and the eye is correct in profile. Only in the hard and knobby modelling of the muscles is there a reminder of earlier days.

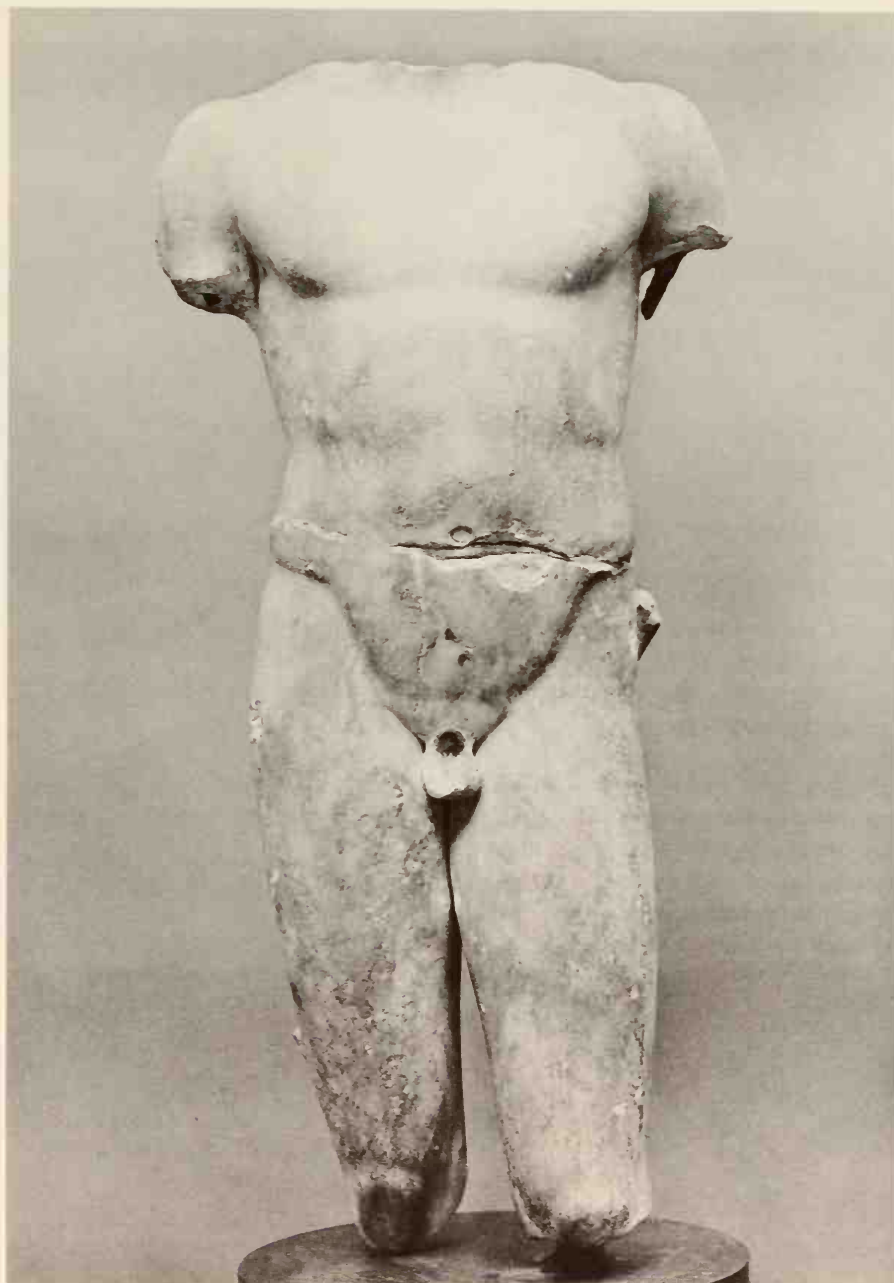
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76. Grave relief of a knight; 480-470 B.C. (99.339)
77. Statue of a boy; after an original of ca. 480-460 B.C. (22.593)
78. Statuette of Herakles; Roman copy of a bronze statue by Myron (?) (14.733)
79. Contest of Aphrodite and Persephone; three-sided relief, 470-460 B.C. (08.205)
80. A vase-painter decorating a kylix, attributed to the Antiphon Painter (01.8073)
81. Herakles dragging Cerberus from Hades; red-figured plate, attributed to the Cerberus Painter, about 520 B.C. (01.8025)
82. Sacrificial procession; from a lekythos by the Gales Painter, 520-510 B.C. (13.195)
83. Silen with drinking horn; attributed to Epiktetos, about 500 B.C. (10.212)
84. Victorious athlete and friend, by the Kleophrades Painter; amphora, about 490 B.C. (10.178)
85. Revellers; from a kylix signed by Euphronios as potter, attributed to the Panaitios Painter; about 480 B.C. (95.27)

86. Helen and Paris, Helen and Menelaos; skyphos signed by Hieron and Makron about 480 B.C. (13.186)
87. Kylix signed by Douris; about 480 B.C. (00.338)
88. Skyphos by the Brygos Painter; about 480 B.C. (10.176)
89. Rhyton by the Brygos Painter; about 480 B.C. (03.787)
90. The death of Aktaion; bell krater by the Pan Painter, about 470 B.C. (10.185)
91. Death of Priam; Cassandra at the Palladion; calyx krater by the Altamura Painter, about 465 B.C. (59.178)
92. Flight of the Aeneas from Troy; reverse of the previous (59.178)
93. The death of Orpheus; lekythos, manner of the Achilles Painter, about 460 B.C. (13.202)
94. Amazon; rhyton with the signature of Sotades, about 440 B.C. (21.2286)
95. Bronze statuette of a discus-thrower; about 480 B.C. (01.7480)
96. Bronze mirror; about 460 B.C. (98.667)
97. Bust of Demeter; terracotta, about 460 B.C. (97.353)
98. Dekadrachm of Syracuse (Demareteion); about 479 B.C. (35.21)
99. Tetradrachm of Selinus; about 467-455 B.C. (04.479)
100. Tetradrachm of Naxos in Sicily; about 461 B.C. (04.470)
101. Apollo, sard intaglio; about 460 B.C. (27.691)











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86a

86b







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87a





87b

87c











89b

89c







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101



# The Fifth Century: Second Half

THE years from 450 to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. are universally recognized as the great age of Greece. During the earlier years of the period, Athens was the dominant city-state, under the leadership of Pericles, and it was at Athens that the most famous monuments of Greek architecture, the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Propylaea, and the Temple of Wingless Victory, were built to adorn the Acropolis. The most famous of Greek sculptors was the Athenian Pheidias, but in the Peloponnesos a rival school flourished, under the leadership of Polykleitos of Argos.

This was the great age of what we term Greek classicism, when the artists, freed from the trammels of Archaic mannerisms, attempted to express their ideas of the highest beauty. Not only were the gods and heroes represented in ideal forms, but even human figures were idealized, with muscles treated in broad masses and calm, impassive faces, as of beings far removed from the struggles and passions of actual existence. It is this quality more than any other that made the creations of the fifth century famous in all later times.

The style of the period can be studied in several works of the two great masters. The most famous works of Pheidias were his colossal statues in gold and ivory, the Athena in the Parthenon and the Zeus in the temple of the god at Olympia. One of the great treasures of the Museum is a copy (or, perhaps better, a reflection) of the head of Zeus, made probably within a century of the creation of the famous statue (Fig. 102). That this was modelled on the Pheidian statue is clear from a comparison with a late coin from Elis, which has on the obverse a head of Zeus and on the reverse a copy of the whole statue. In the Boston head the carving of the hair and the soft modelling of the flesh are in the manner of the fourth century rather than that of the fifth, with the result that much of the majesty and force of the original have been lost. But in spite of this, the head is the most important reflection of the famous original that has been preserved. There is also in the collection a tiny Graeco-Roman silver statuette which is one of the few surviving copies of the complete statue. Although throne and attributes are missing, the nobility of the prototype can be sensed even on the scale of a few inches.

The ancient accounts of Polykleitos's statues suggest that he was primarily a

worker in bronze, who devoted himself especially to the creation of athletic figures. Two of his famous statues were the Doryphoros, or Spear-Bearer, and the Diadumenos, an athlete binding a fillet about his head. From numerous copies of these two works the Polykleitan ideal can be reconstructed — a rather heavy type of body, with muscles modelled in large, well-defined masses, squarish face, and hair in formal, close-lying locks. These qualities are found in several of the Museum's marbles. On a three-sided marble base of a candelabrum of Neo-Attic type (cf. p. 168 and Fig. 160) there is a close copy in relief of the Doryphoros. A fragmentary marble figure of Roman date (Fig. 103), though badly worn, evidently had the characteristic Polykleitan pose with one leg set back and the modelling in large surfaces. And a Roman head of Hermes (Fig. 104) exhibits all the qualities of the master's style with square face, no suggestion of individual traits, and hair modelled in close-lying masses with small locks above the centre of the forehead. Other copies with wings growing out of the top of the head prove that the original represented Hermes.

Of fifth century relief, the gravestone with a young woman looking into a mirror (Fig. 105) is an excellent example. The modest size of the stele, the simplicity of architectonic framework, and the low relief are characteristic of Attic grave monuments of the end of the century. The arrangement of the himation and the modelling of the figure beneath the chiton mark the best level of technical expressiveness reached by post-Pheidian sculptors in their search for the new styles and methods of representation leading to the fourth century.

One marked innovation in Attic work of this period is the introduction of thin, diaphanous drapery for female figures. The earliest instance is found in one of the "Three Fates" in the east pediment of the Parthenon, which may be dated in the early thirties. Of this type of drapery the Museum possesses an excellent example in the life-size Aphrodite (Fig. 106). Although this is a Roman copy of a bronze original, with some innovations, notably the introduction of a chiton under the himation, it is the work of a more skillful sculptor than the mass of Roman copies and suggests much of the beauty of the original. The attribution of this type of Aphrodite has been disputed, but the author of the original is now generally thought to have been an Athenian follower of Pheidias and the date somewhere in the last two decades of the fifth century. Other copies show that the goddess held an apple in her extended left hand, and with her right held up a corner of her chiton over her right shoulder.

Of the vases of the period many are decorated with a few carefully drawn and skillfully executed figures, showing in their simple drapery and quiet poses the same idealism that appears in the sculptures of the Parthenon. In others the new freedom induced the painter to attempt novel poses and to introduce more details of landscape — innovations which probably are due to the influence of the lost wall-paintings of Polygnotos and other masters. An excellent example, dating about 450 B.C., is an interesting covered kylix which, although it is painted in the red-figure technique on

the outside, has as its principal design a polychrome painting on white ground (Fig. 107). The use of such a ground is found even during the black-figure period, but it never gained any great popularity until the third quarter of the fifth century. Then, by using a golden-brown glaze for outlines and varied tones of lustreless washes, a very attractive polychromy was obtained. The subject here is Apollo revealing himself to a Muse on Mt. Helicon. The god's arms are enveloped in a purple-red mantle. The Muse wears a light-brown Doric peplos fastened on the shoulder by a long pin and holds a lyre in her left hand. Dark purple is used for the folds of Apollo's mantle and for spots on the tortoise-shell of the lyre. The folds of the Muse's dress are in dark brown. Certain details are modelled in low relief and still show some traces of their original gilding: Apollo's wreath, the pin on the Muse's shoulder, her earrings and spiral bracelet, the arms of the lyre, the knob at the end of its cross-bar, and four small discs on the maeander below the picture.

LEKYTHOS → The method of painting on a white ground is found especially on the so-called funerary lekythoi. These were used for offerings to the dead and so came to be painted with subjects appropriate to their use — the laying out of the corpse, the deposit of the body at the tomb, the journey to the Underworld with Charon and his boat, and most popular of all, the bringing of offerings to the tomb (Fig. 108). In the centre stands a slender stele, with a looped fillet in dull black paint on the lower step and another draped around the base; on the stele itself are traces of two other fillets. On either side stands a woman; the one at the left brings a perfume vase, the hands of the one at the right held another fillet or perhaps, a wreath. The loss of the colors for the dress of the second woman enables us to see the extremely skillful outline in which the body was drawn before the application of color. The lekythos may be dated about 440 B.C. It is attributed to the Achilles Painter, to whom no less than 181 vases (including 88 in the white-ground technique) have been assigned.

As an example of the newer style, with more attempt at expression and landscape setting, we may take a pelike attributed to the Lykaon Painter (Fig. 109), which has as its subject the meeting of Odysseus and Elpenor. In the *Odyssey* (x1, 51-80), the poet tells how Odysseus, following Circe's instructions, when he came to the Underworld dug a pit and made sacrifice in order to conjure up the spirit of the seer Teiresias. Then appeared the spirit of his comrade Elpenor, who had fallen from the roof of Circe's palace and comes to beg Odysseus to go back and give him proper burial. The painter has followed the Homeric text closely, representing Odysseus seated with drawn sword by the trench which he was told to dig, and beside him the ram and the black ewe with their throats cut. Elpenor's pose suggests the weakness of the dead; he rests his right hand on a rock, leans with his left arm against a cliff, and his lower legs disappear behind one of the ground lines. Hermes does not appear in the Homeric story, but as the Conductor of Souls he is not inappropriate in such a setting. The date of the vase is about 440 B.C., and the new tendencies appear in the ground lines and



the more developed landscape, as well as in the rendering of Elpenor's head in three-quarter view and the intense gaze of the seated Odysseus.

In the thirties of the fifth century many vases exhibit the new fashion of diaphanous drapery which we noted in sculpture, as well as a marked striving for grace and prettiness rather than for dignity and repose. A good example is the pyxis or jewel box (Fig. 110), attributed to Aison, one of the few painters of this period who signed his vases. Again the subject is taken from the *Odyssey*, but here the painter does not follow Homer's account closely. In the Homeric version, Odysseus, having lost all his companions, is nearing his home on a raft which he has built, when Poseidon in a final burst of anger sends a great storm which wrecks the raft, and for two days Odysseus is buffeted by the waves, but is upheld by the magic veil given him by the sea-nymph Ino. When at last he reaches the land of the Phaeacians, he goes to sleep in a copse near the shore where a small stream flows into the sea. Next morning Nausikaa, daughter of King Alkinoös, comes with her handmaidens to wash the clothing which was in her charge. While the washing dries, the maidens play a game of ball. Their cries awaken Odysseus, who comes from his hiding-place, is kindly treated by Nausikaa, and ultimately is taken home to Ithaca in a ship by the friendly Phaeacians. On the pyxis we see Odysseus covering his nakedness as best he can with Ino's veil and branches from the thicket which is summarily represented behind him. (The veil of Ino is an anachronism since, in the Homeric story, Odysseus returned it to the waves as soon as he made land; but it serves in the painting to recall an incident in the story.) Next to Odysseus stands Athena pointing out the way and, no doubt, thought of as invisible to all but the hero. Then comes Phylonoe (all the characters are named), who flees in terror. Nausikaa, however, stands her ground. After her comes Kleopatra, still busy with the washing, again an anachronistic figure since the washing was finished before Odysseus appeared. And finally another frightened maid, Leukippe, completes the series of six figures. The arrangement is obviously intentional, with the two frightened maids opposite each other. The date assigned to the vase is about 430 B.C.

This style, with subjects drawn largely from the life of women, prevailed during the last quarter of the fifth century. With it, in many cases, goes a tendency to use white for details, such as is found on the small oinochoe, Figure 111. This is one of a large number of such small vases, decorated with figures of children and thought to be, perhaps, children's toys. On our example a small girl rides in a two-wheeled cart drawn by two dogs. A boy runs in front of the dogs and another behind the cart. In the background stands a stumpy column on which is a tripod. White is used not only for the flesh of the girl, but for the dogs, the column, and the curious bundle (of clothing?) which hangs in front of the girl.

With the fifth century the great age of the Athenian potters came to an end. Some carried on into the fourth century, but the Athenian monopoly in fine wares was

definitely broken during the disastrous Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.), when the markets in Sicily and Italy were lost.

The small bronzes and the terracottas of the second half of the fifth century and later exhibit, in general, a close following of developments in larger sculpture. A damaged Athena (Fig. 112) shows in the simple folds of the Doric chiton and the aegis with its Gorgon head and border of snakes much of the quality of Pheidias and his school. This type of figure continued to be produced in Athens well into the fourth century. The posturing satyr (Fig. 113) with his strong proportions, broadly modelled muscles, and formal hair and beard, suggests the Argive school of Polykleitos. He may have been pouring wine from a pitcher. Figures like this, in marble and in small bronzes, also appear well into the next century, and pose and proportions of this satyr represent the link between Polykleitan sculpture and the decades in which Praxiteles grew up.

In terracotta, the qualities of later fifth century art are found in a remarkable series of heads from Tarentum and other Greek sites in South Italy, where the difficulty of obtaining marble apparently led to a considerable development of figures in clay for votive offerings, often on a larger scale than those of the Mainland. The head of a goddess (Fig. 114) is a typical example. Here, only the face was made by the use of a mould. The top and back of the head and all the details of hair and fillet were added later, and before the firing the artist went over the whole carefully with a modelling stick, making indentations in the wreath, engraving the separate strands of hair, sharpening details of the eyes, nose, and mouth.

In coins the development in many places lagged behind that in the larger arts, perhaps, as has been noted before, for reasons of conservatism, but by the last quarter of the century a free style was established in all the cities, and from this period come some of the finest coins ever struck. It is significant that the die-engravers often signed their dies — a practice of which there are very few instances before the middle of the fifth century — and from these signatures we know that the most famous among them worked for different cities. Universally admired is the long series of silver coins issued by the Syracusans to commemorate their final defeat of the Athenians at the river Assinarus in 413 B.C. The fine dekadrachm (Fig. 115), with its racing chariot and the head of Arethusa, or possibly Persephone, may be compared with the Demareteion on page 116 to show the progress that had been made in seventy years. The types are the same, but in the later coin the chariot is represented in three-quarter view with running horses, while the flying Victory crowns the charioteer, not the team; and the head of Arethusa, with her crown of leaves, shows in every detail the hand of a master of his craft. Below the chariot are a shield and a helmet, a breastplate and a pair of greaves, apparently set up on steps with the inscription "prizes." These details are plausibly explained as having reference to the games, called Assinaria, which the Syracusans organized as a permanent memorial of their victory. Finally, below the

head of Arethusa, the first six letters of the name Euainetos record the name of the die-engraver.

One innovation of the period was a change from the normal profile view for heads to a front or three-quarter view. Such heads were often designed with great skill, as can be seen on another Syracusan coin, signed on obverse and reverse by Kimon, whose fame rivals that of Euainetos (Fig. 116). But such types never became very popular, no doubt because it was found, as our coin shows, that the projecting portions — nose, chin, and forehead — soon became so worn as to injure the beauty of the coin. Here the facing head is certainly that of Arethusa, for the name of the water-nymph of Ortygia appears faintly lettered above her flying locks. Below the double groundline of the reverse (where Kimon's second signature appears) is an ear of corn on a stalk, symbol of Persephone, chief goddess of Sicily.

Another group of coins which suggests the originality of the die-engravers of this time is associated with Agrigentum in Sicily (Fig. 117). Earlier coins of this city regularly have an eagle on the obverse and a crab on the reverse. Here the engraver adopted the popular racing chariot for the obverse design and for the reverse elaborated the older type into a pair of eagles with a hare upon a heap of rocks. One eagle lifts his head as if screaming, the other is about to attack the hare with its beak. The scene is a visual transcription of lines 109-120 in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, where the twin eagles allude to Achilles and Agamemnon and the prey to Troy.

In gems, also, the later years of the fifth century were a time of high accomplishment, and the gem-cutters, like the die-engravers, often signed their works. The fact that one name, Phrygillos, is found on a gem and also on coins of Syracuse, suggests that the gem-engravers may not infrequently have been employed to cut dies for coins. The butting bull on a chalcedony scaraboid (Fig. 118) is very similar to a coin-type of Thurii and several other cities in South Italy; and the chariot on a similar gem (Fig. 119) has the same qualities as many of the chariots of Euainetos and Kimon on coins of Syracuse. Most famous of all the gem-cutters of the period is Dexamenos, and the Museum is fortunate in possessing one of his signed works (Fig. 120) and two other scaraboids attributed to him (Fig. 121). The signed gem is a portrait, remarkable for its individual character in this time of idealistic tendencies. Of the attributed gems, one which carries the name of an owner, Potaneas, has the figure of a horse with a broken rein walking slowly to the left, comparable in style to work of ca. 460-450 B.C. and in skillful execution to the famous horses of the Parthenon frieze. On the other gem is a beautifully carved heron standing on one leg, the finest of a series on which the heron appears. The popularity of this bird, which is also found on vases associated with scenes from the life of women, is due to the fact that it was a domestic pet, like the modern house cat. All these gems are carved in intaglio.

Similar designs are found on gold finger rings (Fig. 122). A Hermes leaning on an Ionic pillar, holding a phiale in his right hand and his caduceus in his left may be

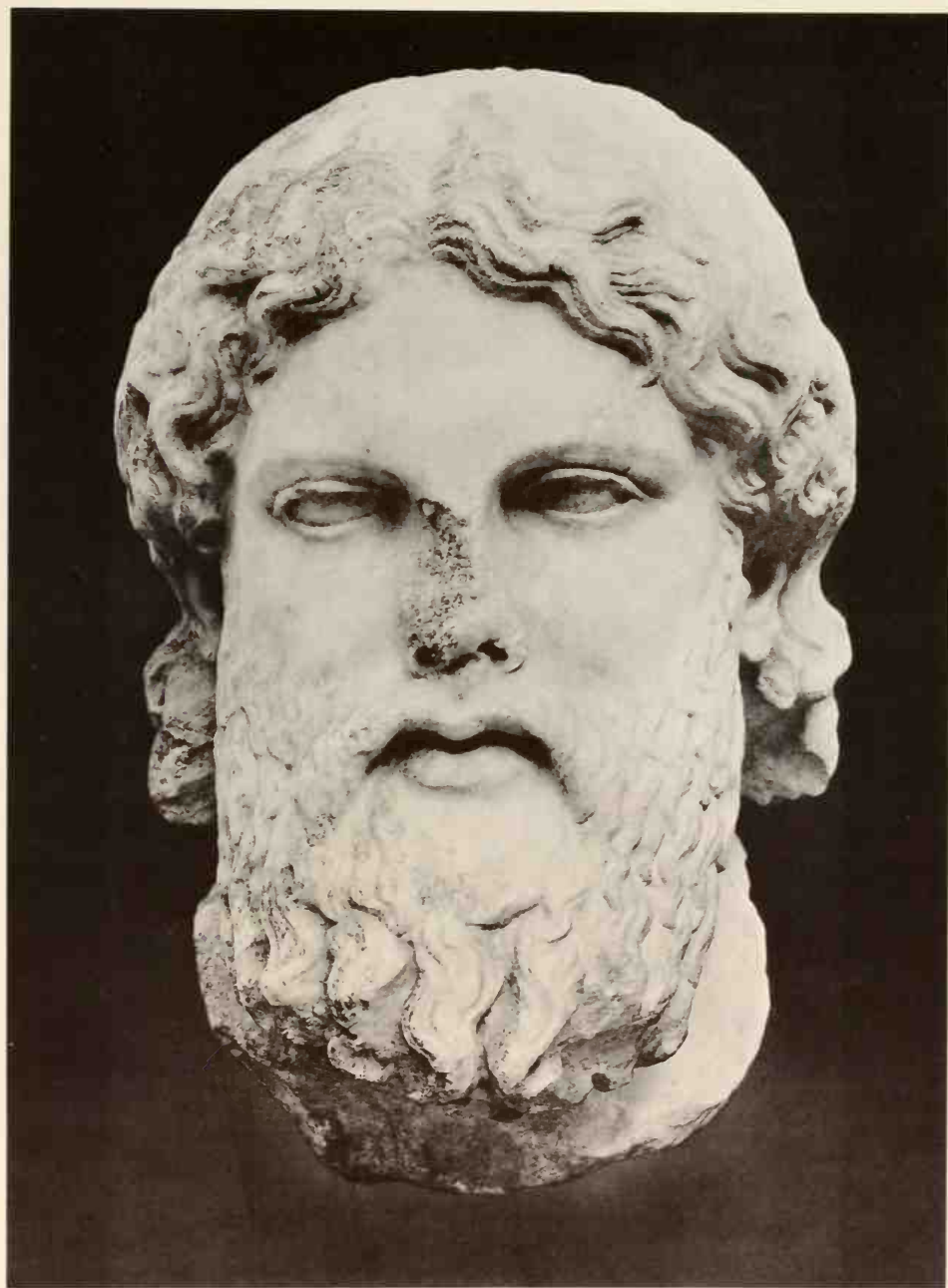
compared with sculptured male figures of about the middle of the fifth century. The Aphrodite of another ring is rather in the style of the later years of the century, and the motif, the weighing of two Erotes, reminds us of the Eros weighing Adonis on the Boston relief.

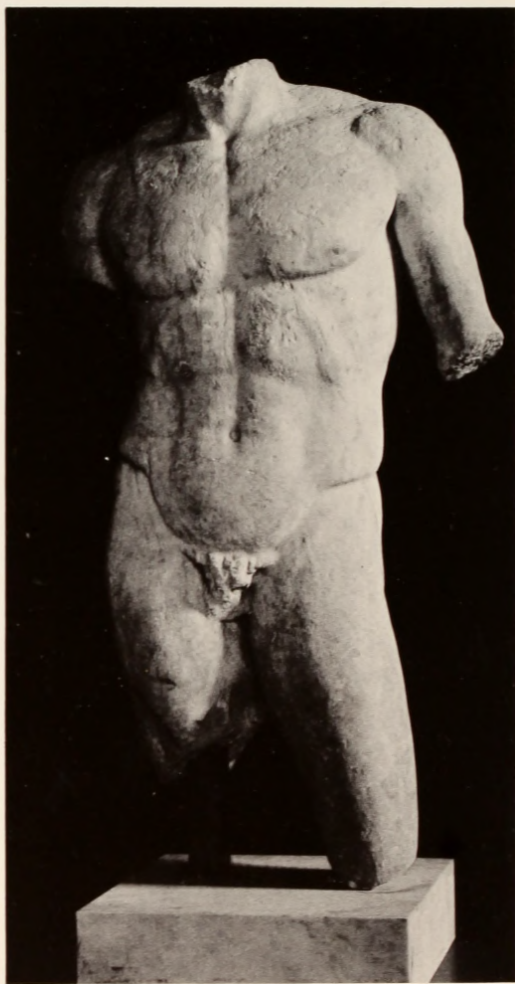
The jewelry of the period often reveals a remarkable tendency to combine the most varied elements. In two gold pins lions, bees, leaves, and other elements unite to form a complicated, but balanced, design. On the simpler of the two a small sphinx is placed on each of the large rising leaves. On the other (Fig. 123) an Ionic capital forms the basis for the whole and the projecting spirals suggest the most prominent feature of the Corinthian capital. Since the pins were found in a grave in the northern part of the Peloponnesos, the conjecture that they were made in Corinth is highly probable. The simpler pin should perhaps be dated in the first half of the fifth century. The more complicated one can be dated about 420 B.C. on the evidence of the two vases which were found with it.

#### Captions for illustrations pp. 125-136

102. Head of Zeus, adaptation of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias; fourth century B.C. (04.12)
103. Roman copy of a Polykleitan statue (01.8190)
104. Head of Hermes; Roman copy of a work of Polykleitos (98.641)
105. Attic gravestone; fifth century B.C. (04.16)
106. Aphrodite; Roman version of a statue by a follower of Pheidias (30.543)
107. Apollo and a Muse; covered kylix, about 450 B.C. (00.356)
108. Funerary white lekythos, attributed to the Achilles Painter; about 440 B.C. (93.106)
109. Elpenor, Odysseus and Hermes; from a pelike attributed to the Lykaon Painter; about 440 B.C. (34.79)
110. Odysseus and Nausikaa; from the cover of a pyxis, attributed to Aison; about 430 B.C. (04.18)
111. Small oinochoe of the late fifth century style (95.51)
112. Bronze statuette of Athena; fifth century Attic style (98.670)
113. Satyr; bronze statuette, fifth century Argive style (98.669)
114. Head of a goddess from Tarentum; terracotta, second half fifth century (31.6)
115. Syracusan dekadrachm, signed by Euainetos; about 412-393 B.C. (04.536)
116. Syracusan tetradrachm, signed by Kimon; about 410 B.C. (00.117)
117. Tetradrachm of Agrigentum; about 413-406 B.C. (04.430)
118. Butting bull, chalcedony scaraboid; fifth century B.C. (23.585)
119. Chariot from a chalcedony scaraboid; fifth century B.C. (23.582)
120. Portrait from a jasper scaraboid, signed by Dexamenos; fifth century B.C. (23.580)
121. Chalcedony scaraboids attributed to Dexamenos; fifth century B.C. (21.1206, 27.698)
122. Hermes and Aphrodite; impressions from two gold rings, fifth century B.C. (23.594, 593)
123. Gold pin; fifth century B.C. (96.717)









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bringing  
offerings to  
the tomb (favorite  
subject of these  
LeKY + Hol)





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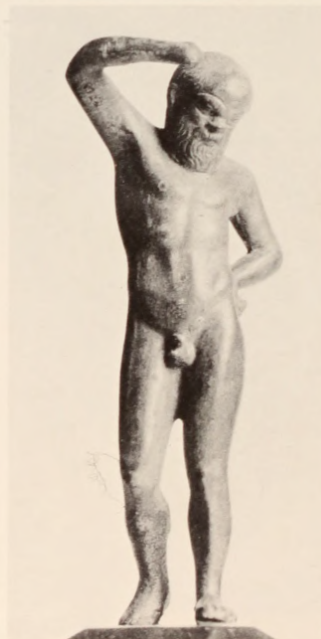






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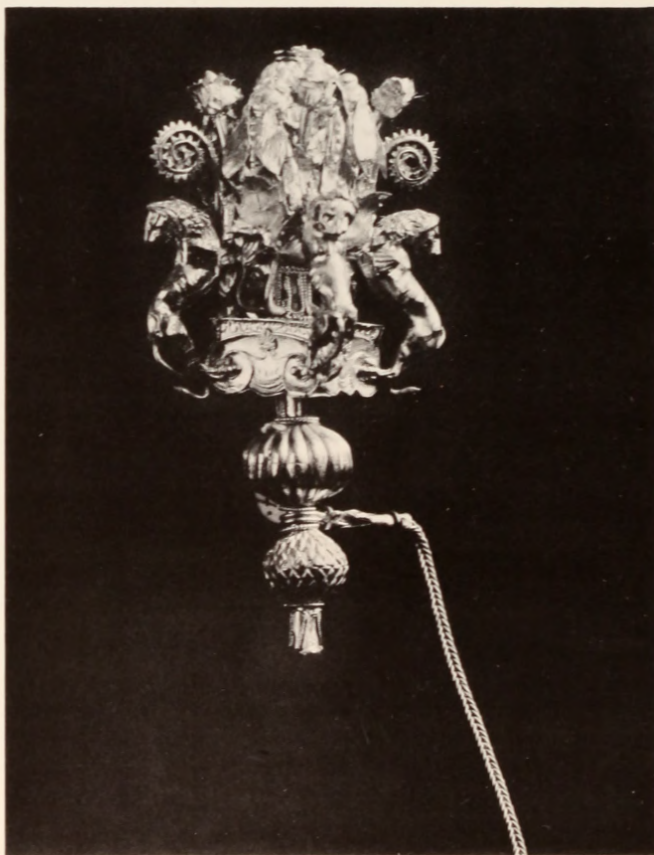






122

123





# The Fourth Century

THE years from 400 to 323 B.C. are often called the Late Classical period of Greek art. Technical skill in all the arts continued to be at a high level, but in the ideals of the artists a great change took place. This was largely due to the political history of the time. After the disastrous defeat of the Athenians by the Spartans in 404 B.C., no Greek state attained a dominant position for any length of time. A brief Spartan supremacy (404-371 B.C.) was followed by an even briefer Theban supremacy (371-362 B.C.), and from 359 B.C. on, most of the Greek communities were gradually involved in the struggle with Philip of Macedon, which was brought to an end by Philip's victory at Chaeronea in 338, and the establishment of Macedonian control over the cities of the Mainland.

These years of wars and political intrigue resulted in a marked growth of individualism. In the fifth century the Greek thought of himself primarily as a citizen, devoted to the service of the state. In the fourth century he came more and more to think of himself as an individual, a tendency to which the speculations and organizational doctrines of Plato, Aristotle and other philosophers no doubt contributed. This is reflected in the art of the time. The grand, aloof types which characterize the art of the fifth century changed gradually to forms more nearly approaching those of ordinary human beings. Artists became greatly interested in the expression of feeling and emotion and in the introduction of more detail in modelling. The change has been well expressed by the statement: "In the fourth century the gods descend from Olympus and become more like ordinary men and women." In other respects, artists realized the potentials of subject and style to a degree not sought in the previous century. Staying within the general precepts of the classical ideal, painters and sculptors saw more in the human face, more in perspective and specific setting, and more in the lesser gods and heroes (the Dionysiac circle, for instance), who had not been worthy of such attention in the artistic demands of the fifth century.

One result of all this is that the sculptors of the fourth century developed more individual styles than their predecessors. The three great names in fourth century sculpture, corresponding to Myron, Pheidias, and Polykleitos, in the fifth century, are Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos. Praxiteles is sometimes characterized as one who devoted himself to the creation of youthful, graceful divinities; Skopas as one who

tried rather to suggest the "strain and stress" of human life; and Lysippos as one whose chief interest was in ideal proportions and skillful handling of athletic types. In Lysippos the tendency to favor slenderer and more graceful figures than those of earlier times found expression in a new canon of proportions, with the head only one-eighth of the total height, whereas in the fifth century the 1:7 canon of Polykleitos was generally followed.

The most famous work of Praxiteles today is the *Hermes with the young Dionysos* at Olympia, which, in spite of some difficulties, many critics believe is the one original work by a famous Greek sculptor that has been preserved. In antiquity his most admired statue was the *Aphrodite of Knidos*, of which only copies of varying degrees of quality have survived, but from them and from the *Hermes* we gain a very definite idea of the mannerisms of Praxiteles. Of the three heads in the Museum which display these qualities, the so-called "Bartlett head" of *Aphrodite* (Fig. 124) is the finest. In it we find all the characteristics that appear in the *Hermes* and the *Aphrodite*: a slightly asymmetrical face, tapering towards the chin; long, narrow eyes, with the lower lid slightly drawn up, so as to produce a dreamy, contemplative expression; a sensitively modelled mouth; sketchy treatment of the hair; skillful differentiation of texture in flesh and hair. The knot on top of the head is not found in copies of Praxitelean statues, but it appears in other works of the fourth century. All this suggests that the *Bartlett Aphrodite* is the work of a contemporary and a close follower of the great master. The traces of red in the hair are interesting as evidence that Greek works in marble continued to be illuminated with color during the fourth century, and recall the story that when Praxiteles was asked which of his works he liked best, he replied, "Those that Nikias painted."

The style of Skopas differs in almost every respect from that of Praxiteles, and a comparison of works by the two masters illustrates perfectly the individualistic tendencies of the fourth century. In the Museum collection the best reflection of a Skopasian work is the head of a youth (Fig. 125). This is not an original, like the *Bartlett Aphrodite*, but an excellent copy, superior in quality to most Roman copies. The sharp turn of the head to the left suggests that it came from a figure in violent action, and this suggestion is carried further in all the details — the upward-gazing, deeply shadowed eyes, with a heavy roll of flesh above the outer corners, the dilated nostrils, the open mouth showing the teeth. Quite in contrast to the practice of the fifth century, the forehead is not a continuous, regular curve from temple to temple, but projects strongly above the root of the nose. All these are mannerisms that appear in identifiable works of Skopas and are the basis of the theory that the head is a copy of some work of his, perhaps from a group of the dying children of Niobe mentioned by Pliny or from a group of wrestlers, such as those in Florence and Ostia.

A head (Fig. 126), which can be identified as *Herakles* through copies of the complete figure, exhibits many of the Skopasian mannerisms and is probably derived from

a statue by a follower of the great master. In the statue, Herakles stood in an attitude of repose, with his weight partly on his right leg, and partly supported by his club, the end propped under his arm.

In reliefs of the fourth century similar qualities of more detailed modelling and greater expressiveness are often found. But Attic reliefs from the earlier years are sometimes reminiscent of fifth century style, a trait which is perhaps to be explained by the theory that many of them were carved by men who in their youth worked with those who decorated the great buildings of the Periclean Age. Such is the interesting relief (Fig. 127), which is identified by the inscription as a dedication to Herakles Alexikakos, "the Averter of Evil," and which can be dated ca. 390-380 B.C. The small structure at the right, with its three steps and two Doric columns and a wine-cup above, is the shrine of the hero, who points at it with his right hand; he is identified as Herakles by the lion's skin on his left arm and the club in his left hand. The second figure is probably Hermes; the round traveller's hat is an attribute of Hermes and his left hand evidently held some object, perhaps his herald's staff, which was added in paint. The relief was no doubt dedicated to Herakles by a young Athenian who had been enrolled among the *epheboi*, who served a two-year apprenticeship, with military training, before they were entitled to full citizenship. A passage in Hesychius records the ceremony to which our relief refers. "At Athens those who were about to become ephebes, before they cut off the lock of hair, brought a measure of wine as an offering to Herakles, and after they had poured a libation, gave it to their companions to drink; this libation was called *oinisteria*." The dating of the relief in the early fourth century is based upon the forms of letters in the inscription. The sturdy figures, with their complex poses relieved by broad modelling, are reminiscent of the young men on the frieze of the Parthenon.

By the beginning of the fourth century, as has already been noted, the great days of the Athenian potteries were over. Certain wares, which served special purposes, such as the black-figured Panathenaic prize amphorae and the white-slipped lekythoi, continued to be manufactured, as well as black-glazed wares with only slight ornamentation; and vases were still exported to some extent, as is proved by the discovery of Athenian vases in widely scattered regions.

One interesting group is made up of the so-called Kertch vases, named from the peninsula in the Crimea (the ancient Panticapaeum) where many have been found in ancient tombs. A good example is the slender calyx krater (Fig. 128), which in its exaggerated slenderness exemplifies the striving for novelty characteristic of many fourth century examples. The central figures are a seated Athena and a standing Herakles; between them Victory flies to crown Athena. Behind Herakles is a woman who places a wreath on his head, and behind Athena are a young man and a woman who holds up a shield. In the use of white for the flesh of Athena and the crest of her helmet and for the whole figure of Nike we see the fondness for color which is charac-

teristic of late fifth century wares carried even further. In the slenderness of the figures we recognize the tendency which we saw in fourth century sculpture. The vase may be dated about 370-350 B.C.

The most active potteries were no longer in Greece proper but in the Greek cities of South Italy. In each of the three regions which had been colonized from Greece, Apulia, Lucania, and Campania, there were evidently flourishing centres of production, and since the vases from one region were rarely exported to another, they are conveniently classified as Apulian, Lucanian, and Campanian. A fourth class, which has features in common with both Lucanian and Campanian wares, can be located at Paestum (the Greek Poseidonia) and is now generally called Paestan. Common to all these classes is a striving for effect, rather than beauty, often combined with hasty and what many have termed careless execution.

Of the three groups, the Lucanian is the least well known; its vases are carelessly executed and very provincial in character. The Apulian vases are often of very large size and overladen with ornament. Campanian wares are usually smaller by comparison, with a great fondness for applied red and white. A slender Paestan amphora (Fig. 129) will illustrate many features of the South Italian products. On one side the subject is the meeting of Electra, Orestes, and Pylades at the tomb of Agamemnon. The tomb itself is represented by a white Ionic column on a brownish base which was decorated with white eggs. On this stands Electra, holding offerings for the dead — a fillet in her right hand, a vase in her left. On the other side of the column stand Orestes and Pylades. Each wears high boots and holds a sword and a traveller's hat in his right hand and a spear in his left, and each has a white chlamys draped over his shoulders. Above, on either side, is a Fury, meant, no doubt, to refer to the later madness of Orestes. On the neck is a Siren, holding a mirror and a flat basket, with a small altar in front of her. Under the handles are elaborate palmette-scroll patterns. The most unusual feature is the black chiton of Electra, the fold-lines of which are rendered by incisions filled with white. The painter has been named the Boston Orestes Painter by A. D. Trendall, who has called attention to well over twenty-seven other vases of similar style.<sup>1</sup>

The most remarkable group of South Italian wares is, perhaps, a series of large vases of Apulian style which, like the big Dipylon vases of the Geometric period, served a purely funerary, rather than utilitarian, purpose. Our krater (Fig. 130) measures a little over four feet in height and is a fine example of its class. In the decorative patterns on the neck and foot the tendency to naturalistic forms can be plainly seen. The principal scene is based on a story of the Trojan War, of which only hints have been preserved in literature. At the centre is a pavilion such as is not uncommon on the Apulian vases, drawn with an attempt at perspective, which undoubtedly reflects a development in the larger painting of the fourth century. Here it is used to suggest

1. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pp. 78 ff., pl. xxix; *idem*, *Paestan Addenda*, PBSR 1959.



the lodging of Achilles at Troy, as appears from the two figures inside it, Achilles seated on a couch, and his old tutor, Phoinix, whose attitude clearly indicates despair. Below is a beheaded figure named Thersites, which gives a clue to the interpretation. Evidently Achilles in a fit of anger has killed Thersites and retired to his tent. The scattered vases and other objects around the body of Thersites are perhaps intended to suggest the violence of the quarrel. At the right Diomedes rushes up, drawing his sword from its scabbard, while Menelaos tries to restrain him; and on the left Agamemnon, with his sceptre, hastens forward to compose the quarrel if he can. The other armed figures in the lower part of the composition are named Phorbas, Aitolos, Automedon, and a slave. In the upper part of the picture are four divine figures as spectators — Pan, Poina (Vengeance), Athena, and Hermes. The date of the vase is the last half of the fourth century.

One rather striking group of small Apulian vases is called "Gnathia ware," from the site where many have been found and where they were probably manufactured. Characteristics of the Gnathia vases are a tendency to imitate metal shapes, the use of black varnish over the whole vase, and the painting of designs over the black in white, purple, and yellow opaque colors (Fig. 131). Human figures are comparatively rare, and the decorative motives are limited to a narrow range of simple foliage patterns, enlivened, in some cases, by female heads, Erotes, and comic and tragic masks suspended from wreaths. The manufacture of these vases continued into the early third century.

Most interesting of all the South Italian vases is a series made in both Campania and Apulia, which show scenes from the lively comedies of the period, the so-called Phlyakes.<sup>2</sup>

Of the high development of repoussé work in bronze during the fourth century the situla or pail (Fig. 132) furnishes excellent proof. Though less than half of the band of relief which ran all around the pail is preserved, the subject is clear. A youthful Dionysos is seated on a rock, behind which is a grapevine. In his left hand he holds his thyrsos, with his right he caresses a panther. At the left a bearded satyr holds out a kantharos and at the right is a dancing maenad. Noteworthy are the well executed head in three-quarter view and the thin drapery of the maenad. This type of situla was developed in Italy under the influence of imports from Greece, and this, combined with the fact that such bronze pails have been found mostly in South Italy, makes the suggestion that the majority are products of a Tarentine factory very plausible.

Other evidence of the high development of bronze working is found in a series of mirrors of the so-called "box-type," which are round cases decorated with repoussé designs on the outside of the cover and in some instances with incised and silvered

2. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 8, 1959.

designs on the inside. The mirror proper was sometimes the polished inside of the cover, sometimes a hinged disc of polished bronze. Such mirrors were also made in the fifth century, but they seem to have enjoyed greatest popularity in the fourth. Figure 133 shows the decoration of the cover of such a mirror — on the outside Thetis on a hippocamp bringing the new breastplate for Achilles, on the inside an Eros riding on a dolphin, with traces of its silver coating still preserved. In other examples such covers show traces of gilding.

The relative scarcity of ancient gold and silver plate makes us forget how important the art of the goldsmith must have been in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Ancient descriptions of cult statues and smaller objects in temples suggest the wealth of what once existed. Through chance survival we can estimate something of Greek metalwork in the fourth century B.C. Our knowledge of dating is provided by style, by technique and by objects such as painted vases or coins from tomb groups. A silver bowl from a find in South-Western Asia Minor has an elaborate gilded design of dotted circles, leaves and zigzags on the shoulder, guilloche and elongated tongues on the body, and an eight-petalled rosette covering the bottom (Fig. 134). The combination of complex pattern and delicate design harmonizes with the simplicity of the shape. A silver pitcher, with ovolo and dart design impressed on the offset ridge of the shoulder, was found with the bowl (Fig. 135). The handle ends in a palmette and has a boukranion or ox-skull engraved on the upper curve. This last detail suggests the bowl and pitcher formed part of the ritual silver of a small temple or shrine.

In the making of terracotta figurines there were striking innovations. Throughout the fifth century most figures of this sort were made from a single mould. The koroplast must first have made a model figure in clay, from which, after it was fired, a mould of clay was taken. This included all the front of the figure and the casts taken from such moulds were usually completed by adding a plain slab for the back, thus producing a hollow figure. Added strips or bits of clay served to give greater relief to some parts and to produce a certain variety in figurines from the same mould.

Such figures continued to be made in the fourth century, but for most of the products of this period the modellers came to use piece moulds as a means of attaining more varied types. The development in the period from 340-338 B.C. into the Hellenistic Age is associated especially with the Boeotian town of Tanagra, where terracotta figures were the favorite form of offering to the dead. Thousands, literally, of "Tanagras" have been found in graves about the site of the ancient city, and the name Tanagra figurines, or figurines of Tanagra type, is commonly given to terracottas in which this advanced technique was employed.

In the Tanagra figurines, the body, sometimes with the arms enveloped in the drapery, was cast or pressed from a single mould. But the head was made separately, commonly by means of a two-piece mould, so that it is a solid lump of clay. Arms, also, were often cast separately, as well as all sorts of subsidiary parts, such as hats,

fans, wreaths, and other attributes. The back remained, in many cases, a plain strip of clay, but sometimes the back was rather summarily modelled. Thus the maker with a comparatively small set of moulds could obtain much more variety than the men of earlier generations. Like earlier figurines, the Tanagras were colored by covering the finished figure with a white slip and applying bright colors over it for details. But the coloring is more varied than in earlier terracottas; many tones of red, blue, and yellow were used, and sometimes gilding was sparingly applied. The result of all this is that the Tanagra figurines are among the most charming products of Greek art. They make a direct appeal and require no long explanations or mythological comment as do many other works of Greek masters.

The great mass of the Tanagras are female figures, usually fully draped and clearly modelled on daily life (Fig. 136). Rarely, by means of attributes, one is made into a goddess. But the basic mould is commonly of the usual sort, and such figures look more like Greek women dressed up as goddesses than like the actual dwellers on Olympus.

Just why these female figures were so largely used as offerings to the dead has been much debated. Were they meant to serve the dead in the tomb like the earlier cooks and makers of bread? Probably not. An acceptable theory is that they are descended from the earlier figures drawn from daily life, and may be taken as further evidence of the fourth century tendency towards more graceful and more "human" types. In no other category is this "human" quality of fourth century art, its striving for grace and prettiness, better expressed than in the figurines. On the other hand, the consistent level of semi-divine, semi-human feeling in Tanagra figurines suggests they symbolized the change from human to heroic state in the pleasure gardens of the other world; this would provide one explanation for their continual use as offerings in tombs.

Figure 137 is a good example of the male types which are sometimes found. Figure 138 shows how two figures from similar basic moulds could be made to look quite unlike by the use of different heads and the addition of a fan.

Though most Tanagras are single figures, groups of two are not uncommon (Fig. 139). A curious type is a group in which one woman carries another on her back (Fig. 140). This is believed to represent a game of forfeits, since there are literary references to such a game, called *ephedrismos*, in which the loser had to carry the winner, holding her in her clasped hands.

Since the figures were hollow, they could obviously be made into vases by the addition of a spout. A remarkable example is the lekythos in the form of Aphrodite rising from the sea with two Erotes hovering about her (Fig. 141). This fortunately has preserved most of its color. The prevailing tone is the white of the basic slip, but there are traces of pink on the body of the goddess and her hair is yellow with traces of gilding; the inside of the shell is pink; the wings of one Eros are blue, those

of the other were gilded; and the rosettes are yellow with traces of gilding.

Something of the same "human" quality can be seen in the gems of the fourth century, for instance in a fine chalcedony scaraboid with a figure of Diomedes carrying off the Palladion from Troy (Fig. 142). The composition is probably an excerpt from a famous painting of the period, for other versions of the scene have survived, and it continued to be popular into the Graeco-Roman period.

The coins of the fourth century, generally speaking, continue the designs and styles of the period 430 to 400 B.C. A silver stater of Perikles (Parikla), king and dynast of Lycia (380-362 B.C.), illustrates the transformation of high classical Greek designs to suit the tastes of a partly-Hellenized ruler near the frontiers of the Greek world (Fig. 143). An almost barbarous head of Perikles as Poseidon, flanked by a dolphin, on the obverse is matched by the figure of a warrior, perhaps Ajax, advancing with sword and shield on the reverse.

In the coinage the most important event, however, was the attainment of a more nearly universal coinage than Greece had known before. From the spoils of his Asiatic victories, Alexander the Great issued an enormous quantity of gold and silver coins, adopting for them the Attic standard which already was familiar over a wide area. The usual types were: for the gold, the head of Athena on the obverse and Nike holding a wreath and a naval standard on the reverse (Fig. 144); and for the silver, a youthful head of Herakles and a seated Zeus (Fig. 145). On all his issues the reverse carries the inscription "of Alexander" or "of Alexander the King."

The youthful head of Herakles bore increasing resemblance to Alexander's own features as the coinage developed in his own lifetime and the lifetimes of his immediate successors. A marble head from Sparta presents Alexander wearing the lion's skin of Herakles (Fig. 146) and is probably the only surviving contemporary parallel to the coins in the major media. The head was carved by Lysippos, court portraitist to Alexander the Great, or by one of the sculptors working in his atelier.

A period of growing individualism like the fourth century was a favorable time for the production of necklaces, earrings, and other objects for personal adornment, and fourth century tombs have yielded many fine examples of the jeweler's art. Among the gold finger rings in the Museum collection, the most interesting, perhaps, are one with a lion devouring a dolphin (Fig. 147) and one with a most unusual figure of an old decrepit donkey (Fig. 148). In the latter every detail is suggestive: the protruding ribs, shoulder-blade, hips, and vertebrae; the prominent belly, with its swollen veins; even a sore on the neck.

A braided necklace with six strands has a row of small gold pendants hanging from the middle section and on the clasp a uraeus serpent. A clasp of a necklace (Fig. 149) is composed of two intertwined loops, which end in rosettes. Each loop carries a leaf pattern in fine filigree, and at the centre is a separately worked palmette.



Similar filigree is used for the decoration of a pair of fibulae (Fig. 150) with a square catchplate.

Among the earrings, a simple type consists of a loop of twisted wires, ending in a head. One has the head of a Chimaera, another a human head, a third a lion's head (Fig. 151). A more elaborate type is made up of a disc with pendant. Among the pendants are a dove, an Eros holding a patera, and the eagle of Zeus carrying off Ganymede (Fig. 152). Most elaborate of all is the earring generally identified as Nike driving her chariot (Fig. 153). It has been suggested recently that the goddess is not Nike but rather Psyche, driving heavenward in the soul's search for immortality (as described in Plato's *Phaedrus*). The piece is remarkably preserved in every detail – the goddess leaning far forward, the frame of the chariot, even the reins with which she controls the galloping horses. The style is clearly that of the great age, and a date in the early fourth century, rather than the late fifth, is suggested by the violent action as well as by the palmette from which the group is suspended; this has incurving petals, a form that apparently did not come into use until after 400 B.C. It seems hardly possible that so large and complicated a jewel could have been worn by a woman, and the suggestion that it was intended to decorate a statue of a goddess has found many adherents. It may owe its preservation to having been part of a statue on heroic scale or an offering placed in a tomb.

#### Captions for illustrations pp. 147-163

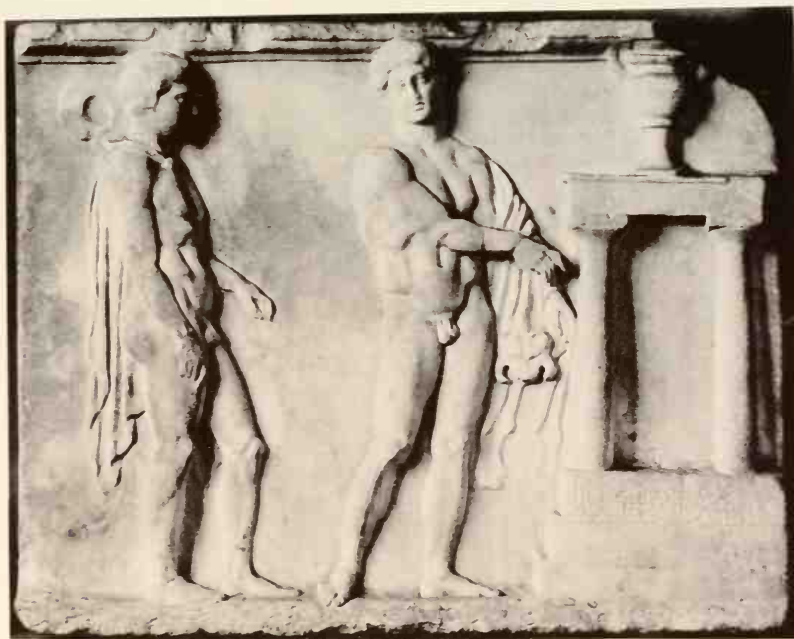
124. Bartlett head of Aphrodite; fourth century B.C. (03.743)
125. Head of a youth; Roman copy after Skopas (01.8204)
126. Head of Herakles; Roman copy of a work by a follower of Skopas (97.287)
127. Relief dedicated to Herakles Alexikakos; fourth century B.C. (96.696)
128. Calyx krater of the "Kertch" type; 370-350 B.C. (13.416)
129. Pylades, Orestes and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon; Paestan amphora; 330-310 B.C. (99.540)
130. Death of Thersites; Apulian krater, fourth century B.C. (03.804)
131. Oinochoe of Gnathia ware; late fourth century B.C. (76.58)
132. Dionysos and followers; bronze situla, fourth century B.C. (03.1001)
133. Cover of a bronze mirror; fourth century B.C. (98.672)
134. Silver bowl; fourth century B.C. (58.319)
135. Silver pitcher; fourth century B.C. (58.320)
136. Tanagra figurine; fourth century B.C. (01.7812)
137. Tanagra figurine, male type; fourth century B.C. (01.7816)
138. Two Tanagra figurines from similar moulds; fourth century B.C. or later (01.7803, 7804)
139. Group of two female figures; fourth century B.C. or later (01.7926)
140. Ephedrismos group from Corinth; fourth century B.C. or later (03.894)

- 141. Birth of Aphrodite; plastic lekythos, Attic, fourth century B.C. (00.629)
  - 142. Diomedes carrying off the Palladion; chalcedony scaraboid, fourth century B.C. (27.703)
  - 143. Silver stater of Perikles of Lycia (58.12)
  - 144. Gold distater of Alexander the Great, struck at Amphipolis (35.203)
  - 145. Silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, struck at Amphipolis (03.960)
  - 146. Head of Alexander as Herakles (52.1741)
  - 147. Lion devouring a dolphin; impression from a gold ring, fourth century B.C. (98.795)
  - 148. An aged donkey; impression from a gold ring, fourth century B.C. (27.701)
  - 149. Gold clasp for a necklace; fourth century B.C. (99.375)
  - 150. Gold fibula; fourth century B.C. (99.371)
  - 151. Gold earrings of the loop type; fourth century B.C. (01.8159, 98.946, 17.1539)
  - 152. Gold earrings with disc and pendant; fourth century B.C. (01.8168, 90.177, 01.8164)
  - 153. Gold earring with Nike driving her chariot; early fourth century B.C. (98.788)
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132







133a

133b





134

135





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138



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143









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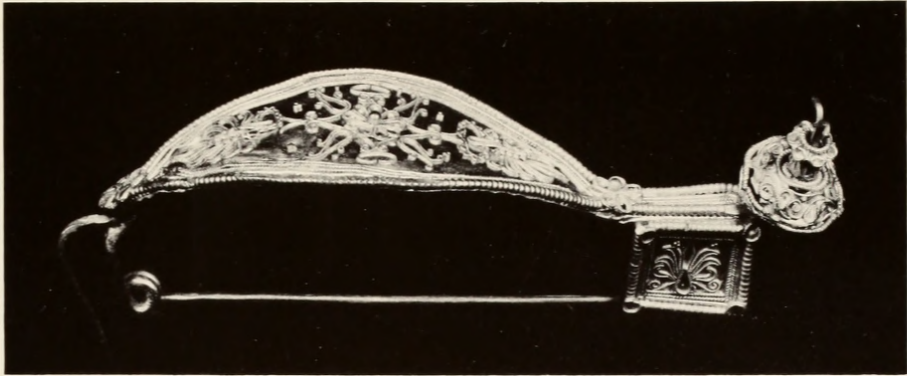


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148







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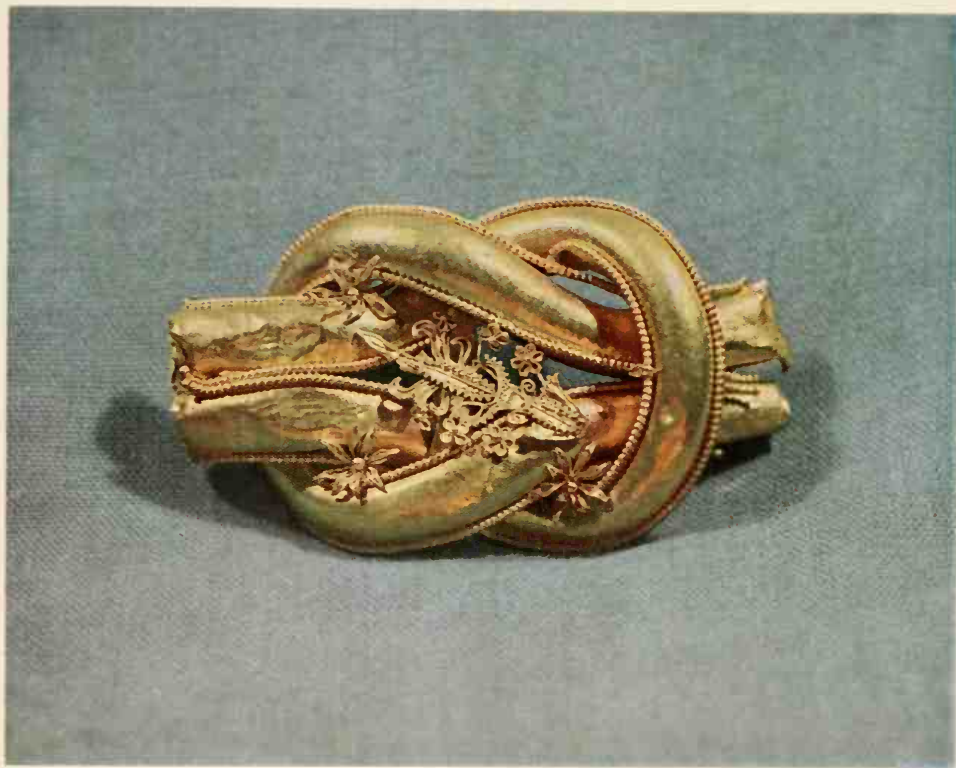
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# Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Periods

THE conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great resulted in a great enlargement of the Greek horizon. The foundation of new cities on the Greek model at many places in Egypt and in Asia spread Greek ideas and ideals over a wide area. On the other hand, the Greeks were brought into closer contact than before with the older civilizations of the East and were inevitably affected by them. The result was a development less strictly Greek in spirit, and the term Hellenistic is used to distinguish it from the pure Greek or Hellenic culture of earlier days.

One notable change is that the most important cities were no longer Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, but new centres in the East, like Alexandria in Egypt, which Alexander himself founded, or Antioch on the Orontes, founded by Seleucus as the capital of his Syrian kingdom and named for his father Antiochus; or they were old Greek cities of Asia Minor, like Pergamon and Rhodes, which rose to new importance as a result of the eastward shift of the centre of gravity in the Greek world. In a broad sense, since much of the art of Rome was based on Greek models, all the art of later antiquity was Hellenistic, but the name Hellenistic period is better confined to the years 323 to 146 B.C., that is, from the death of Alexander to the capture of Corinth by Mummius, as a result of which old Greece became a Roman province. The years between the capture of Corinth and the establishment of the imperial form of government in Rome (146-27 B.C.) are equally part of the Hellenistic period (see Chronological Outline) but have also been named the Graeco-Roman period, in the sense that art of this time is still largely Greek, but more and more influenced by Roman ideas.

Among the novelties that appear in the Hellenistic period the most striking is an increasing realism, which often led to exaggeration, as the artist tried to exhibit his exact knowledge of anatomy. This tendency may perhaps be associated with the growing interest in science, which is one of the interesting developments of the Hellenistic age. A natural result of the realistic tendency is that portraits play a greater part in the art of the time than in the earlier centuries. But some of the masters, perhaps as a protest against the new realism, imitated and even exaggerated the idealizing works of the fifth and the fourth centuries. And in the Graeco-Roman period, a whole group of sculptors consciously imitated the monuments of the great age and even of the

Archaic period. Finally, as might be expected, artists seem to have moved about more freely than before, so that it is harder to distinguish definite schools or groups.

Among early Hellenistic works in the Museum one of the most discussed is the so-called "goddess from Chios" (Fig. 154). Many of the traits in this head recall the manner of Praxiteles; the face tapering towards the chin; the long, narrow eyes; the smiling mouth; the sketchy, impressionistic treatment of the hair. The head has, indeed, been attributed to Praxiteles himself. But the extreme thinness of the lower lids and the soft, impressionistic treatment of the flesh suggest rather a sculptor of the early Hellenistic period, strongly influenced by the great master of the fourth century. A comparison of the head with the Bartlett Aphrodite (p. 138) is most instructive.

To the early Hellenistic period we may probably assign a portrait bust in the form of a herm which is believed by many to represent the famous comic poet Menander (Fig. 155). It is one of a number of copies of Roman date, and one of the most careful. The dates of Menander's life are known (342-291 B.C.), and we are told that a statue of Menander by the sons of Praxiteles was set up in the theatre of Athens. Both these facts suggest a date in the early third century, and with such a date the qualities of the head agree. Sadness and weariness are suggested by the eyes with their heavy lids, but the whole is treated with a restraint which is unusual in later Hellenistic portraits. In the last twenty years some scholars have argued that the original represented not Menander but the Roman epic poet Virgil (70-19 B.C.) or an unknown *literatus* of the late Hellenistic period. Portraiture in the Augustan age, the period of Virgil's last years, drew much from fourth century and early Hellenistic classicism. The many surviving ancient replicas of this one original vary considerably in style and quality; therefore, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the man is Virgil on the evidence of the high quality of the copy in Boston. It is likely that Menander and Virgil looked somewhat alike, and it may be possible that the head discussed here is Menander while other supposed replicas of the same original actually show Virgil, the Roman poet three centuries Menander's junior.

Similar early Hellenistic qualities in treatment are found in a well-preserved bronze head which clearly was broken from a life-size statue (Fig. 156). Several of the features of this head resemble those of Arsinoë II, wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, as it appears on coins of that monarch (cf. Fig. 173, p. 186) — the low forehead, the short upper lip, the small rounded chin. The head on the coins, to be sure, represents an older woman, but Ptolemy, whose reign covered the years 285-246 B.C., did not marry Arsinoë until she was about thirty-seven years old, and she died in 270 B.C. The bronze statue, therefore, was probably made before her marriage to Ptolemy, while she was the wife of Lysimachus, King of Thrace, who died in 281 B.C.

The realistic tendencies of Hellenistic sculpture are very evident in a fragmentary statue of the so-called "Hanging Marsyas" type (Fig. 157). The story of Marsyas, the satyr, is familiar to all who have read Xenophon's *Anabasis* — how after he picked up

the double flute which Athena threw away, he became so proud of his skill that he challenged Apollo to a musical contest, was defeated and flayed for his presumption; and his skin, hung up in a cave in Asia Minor, was said to be the source of the river Marsyas. The Museum fragment is one of many Graeco-Roman copies of a lifesize figure of Marsyas hanging by his wrists from a tree. The original was probably the work of a sculptor of the School of Pergamon, which flourished in the third and second centuries before Christ, and was definitely naturalistic in tendency. It is generally believed that this original was part of a group which included a seated Apollo and a slave sharpening a knife of which the famous Arrotino in Florence is a replica. However that may be, the Marsyas, with its strained and exaggerated muscles, its indication of swollen veins, and the tuft of hair on the breast, is a remarkable example of realism in Hellenistic art.

The same tendency, in a much more attractive form, is found in a head of Homer (Fig. 158). This creation of a Hellenistic sculptor was copied and imitated many times. The Museum example is of heroic size and, from the extremely careful workmanship, is believed to be of Hellenistic date. In one sense, the head is an ideal creation, based on the tradition of the poet's blindness and poverty, but the naturalism in all details is characteristically Hellenistic. Especially to be noted is the suggestion of blindness produced by the lifting of the eyebrows, the wasting of the flesh in the eye-sockets, and the small openings between the thin lids, as well as the emphasis everywhere on the wrinkles associated with old age. It is remarkable that in spite of these naturalistic details, the head produces no impression of senility, but rather one of intellectual vigor, nobility, and mildness.

Despite its qualities of classic nobility and Hellenistic naturalism, the portrait of Homer is an ideal one, for, after all, Homer lived long before any tradition of what he actually looked like could be recorded. The portrait is truly Greek in the sense that it shows Homer as he ought to have appeared rather than as he can be proven to have looked. Another portrait that may be classed as Hellenistic in its naturalistic flavor is the likeness of Socrates, acquired by the collections in 1960 (Fig. 159). This almost lifesize head is said to have been found in Athens, where Socrates lived, taught and was forced to commit suicide in 399 B.C. In this case it is possible to have a reasonably accurate portrait of the great philosopher, for portraiture as a concept and an art was alive in the Greek world as early as the end of the fifth century B.C. What we see in this expressive, naturalistic marble head is an Antonine Roman version of a portrait of Socrates probably created about 340 B.C., just at the outset of the Hellenistic period. The model was a statue, showing Socrates seated in meditation. The tradition of his features was very strong in fourth century Athens, and the sculptor, whom many have identified as Lysippos, had only to ennoble the earthy, Silen-like face by emphasizing the forehead, moustache and curling beard.

The sculptor of the version shown here has imparted an even more lifelike quality

in his rendering by drilling and cutting the locks of hair and the beard, creating a play of light and shadow across the thoughtful face. The details of cutting and chiselling around the eyes reveal an artist of uncommon ability, who has transformed the fourth-century qualities of the prototype into a work embodying all the characteristics of Greek portraiture in the Hellenistic age. The freshness of the presentation is seen best when this head is compared with the several academic Roman copies of the fourth century original surviving in European collections. The condition of the portrait is as it was the day of discovery, root marks and the scars of the excavators' pick still visible on the fresh surfaces of the face. The nose was evidently broken and repaired in antiquity, for the iron dowel between the nostrils and the horizontal cutting above are ancient.

As noted previously, the Hellenistic age can certainly be said to last until 30 B.C., when the arrival of Augustus in Egypt and the suicide of Cleopatra bring the Ptolemaic kingdom to an end. In art the Hellenistic age in many ways continues in East and West through much of the Roman imperial period and into the third-century transition to Late Classical art. The period designated as Graeco-Roman is really only a subdivision of Late Hellenistic and of Roman art, covering works clearly shaped by Roman taste but produced by Greek artists or in the Greek tradition.

With the Graeco-Roman period, the tendency to copy and imitate older works gained new impetus. After the capture of Corinth, Mummius carried off to Rome quantities of Greek works, which made a profound impression when they were exhibited in his triumph. One of the most interesting groups among the works of the Graeco-Roman age is that known as Neo-Attic, since several are signed by makers who add to their names "the Athenian," evidently to show their connection with the famous city. Some of them actually migrated to Italy, while others, probably, worked in Athens, with an eye on the Roman market. Many of the Neo-Attic sculptures are copies or imitations of famous works of the great age, others are imitations of the style of the great age, or even of the Archaic period. A whole series of reliefs frankly copy older types. So a triangular pedestal for a candelabrum (Fig. 160) is decorated with three figures of Polykleitan type, one of which is definitely a copy of the famous Doryphoros (cf. p. 119).

Another product of the period when resurgent Rome was meeting the Greek art of Southern Italy is the relief with a representation of the death of Priam (Fig. 161). All the figures — Neoptolemos, who drags the aged king from the altar to which he has fled for refuge, Priam, who vainly tries to break the hold of his pursuer, and Hekabe, who stretches out her arms in an appeal for mercy — are treated in the broad manner of the fifth century, and there can be little doubt that the original was a relief, or perhaps a painting, of that time. But the execution, though good, is inferior to and no doubt more charged with emotional detail than that of the great age. The relief was probably made in the century from 150 to 50 B.C. An interesting detail is the in-



scription *Aurelia Secunda se viva fecit sibi et suis*, "Aurelia Secunda in her lifetime made (this) for herself and her family," under which are traces of an earlier inscription. This shows that sometime about A.D. 200 a Roman lady used the relief to decorate her tomb, after it had been used before for some other purpose.

Not only monuments of the great age but also those of the Archaic period were copied and imitated by Graeco-Roman sculptors, sometimes so successfully that it is hard to distinguish them from genuine Archaic works. Usually, however, the imitator betrays himself by one detail or another, and often, of course, there was no real attempt to deceive. A good example of such "Archaizing" is the head of Artemis (Fig. 162). In this the mannerisms of the Archaic style are evident in many details, especially in the treatment of the hair and the placing of the ear too high. But the undercutting of the hair above the forehead cannot be paralleled in genuine Archaic works, and the overlapping of the upper lid over the under at the outer corner is not found until near the middle of the fifth century. Since the eyes, in marble heads of the Archaic period, were not inset and the flowers on the diadem would have been painted rather than carved, it has been suggested that the original may have been in bronze.

One result of the realistic tendency in Hellenistic art was that the forms of childhood were at last correctly rendered in marble and bronze. During the fifth and fourth centuries, although the painters sometimes represented children with considerable accuracy (cf. pp. 92 and 121), the sculptors in general did not display great interest in such figures and their creations have fairly been characterized as "little old men." Among several small bronzes in the Museum collection, Figure 163 is perhaps the best to illustrate this phase of the Hellenistic development from types found in fourth century votive or funerary sculpture.

In the pottery industry, the most important change was the gradual disappearance of painted vases and the increasing importance of wares made in moulds in imitation of gold, silver, and bronze vessels. A class of vases with reliefs is sometimes called "Megarian," since some of the first to be published were found at Megara. But they were made in many different places. They are usually covered with black glaze, not infrequently fired to red. The reliefs were either stamped out separately and attached, or, more commonly, the whole vase was cast in a mould like the later Arretine wares (see pp. 228 f.). Many were decorated only with patterns or plant motifs (Fig. 164), but some have quite elaborate figure compositions. Among them is an interesting group with stories from the epic poets and the dramatists, often with names beside the figures and even whole verses from the literary works which they illustrate.

In the terracottas of the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods, tendencies similar to those which we have noted in sculpture are evident. The later terracottas are sometimes called "Myrina types" from a site in Asia Minor, where large numbers of figurines dating from the third to the first century B.C. and into the Roman period were found in graves in excavations conducted by Pottier and Reinach in 1880-82 for

the French School at Athens. But similar figures have been found over a wide area. In general, the later types are more varied and more elaborate than the Tanagras; they include many divinities, especially the nude or semi-draped Aphrodite, flying Victories, and Erotes (Fig. 165); the scale is frequently larger (the resting Herakles of Figure 166 measures over nineteen inches in length); poses are often so lively as to seem exaggerated (Fig. 167); and many figures are drawn directly from daily life and not infrequently treated as caricatures (Fig. 168). Nowhere, perhaps, is the restlessness and striving for novelty more fully illustrated than in the terracottas of Myrina type.

One interesting exhibit in the Museum is a series of twenty-eight Erotes which came from a tomb at Eretria (Fig. 169). Not more than eight basic moulds (for the body of Eros) were used, but by changing the position of the head and the arms and the addition of different attributes, the modeller created an effect of great variety. Other objects in the tomb included twenty-eight small shields of terracotta (these from only two different moulds), and several pieces of jewelry (see p. 172).

In the coins of the Hellenistic period, the influence of Alexander's issues is evident in many ways. So universally had these come to be used that many cities gave up or were forced to give up their individual coinages and issued coins with the types and the name of Alexander. And his successors for a considerable period did not venture to strike in their own names. Ultimately, however, they began to do so and to use their portraits as obverse types, a practice which was followed by the Roman emperors and so transmitted to modern times. Many of these royal portraits are the work of skillful engravers and furnish some of the best examples of Hellenistic portraiture.

Such is the case with the rare silver octadrachms (eight-drachma pieces) of Alexander's general Ptolemy I Soter (304-285 B.C.), first of a long line of rulers of his name in Egypt (Fig. 170). His forceful portrait, diademed and designed in the Alexander tradition, graces the obverse, and the royal name flanks the eagle and thunderbolt on the reverse. The portraitist probably signed his work with a small Delta ( $\Delta$ ) which appears behind the king's ear.

Especially famous are the issues of the kings of Bactria (Figs. 171 and 172). Of these two heads, an English critic wrote: "They are the most noble examples of Greek art as applied to portraiture. No rivals to the lifelike portraits of Euthydemus and Demetrius appeared in the world until after the lapse of sixteen centuries, when the Greek spirit was again kindled at the Renaissance and manifested itself in the medals of the great Italian artists."<sup>1</sup>

Queens, as well as kings, were honored by having their portraits placed on coins. Arsinoë II appears on a series of Egyptian gold octadrachms, with a double cornucopiae as the device of the reverse (Fig. 173, cf. p. 166). The letter behind the head

1. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 545.

dates this coin to the tenth year of the reign, 261 B.C. In other series dates are sometimes recorded from a fixed event such as the so-called era of the Seleucidae, which began with the year 312, when Seleucus recovered the satrapy from which he had been expelled by Antigonus. Thus the extremely rare gold octadrachm of Demetrius I Soter, with the head of the king on one side and Tyche, the goddess of Fortune, on the other (Fig. 174) is dated by the three Greek letters below the seated Tyche on the reverse to the 162nd year, that is, 151 to 150 B.C. These dates add to the interest of the coins and are of great importance to the historian and the archaeologist.

Demetrius I struck gold octadrachms in his last six months as Seleucid king, to finance his unsuccessful struggle against the usurper Alexander Balas. Until a chance find in the Near East in recent years, these pieces were unknown, and only three specimens and one gold drachm were in the hoard. The portrait, struck in haste from a die used for silver tetradrachms (four-drachma pieces) of the same year, shows the king with the royal diadem and heroic features imparted to ruling Macedonians after Alexander's Eastern conquests. On the reverse the inscription, besides giving the date, hails Demetrius as king and savior ("Soter"). Tyche or Fortuna, goddess of success and the Seleucid House, holds the sceptre of power and the cornucopiae of prosperity. Both were denied Demetrius when he fell in battle against a usurper backed by Rome (through Pergamon) and by Ptolemaic Egypt.

One interesting development in the later Hellenistic coins is the tendency to "spread the flan," to use a technical term, that is, to make the blank wider and thinner and so produce a larger coin with the same amount of metal. This technical development was tied in artistically with the revival of classicism as a reaction to Hellenistic baroque and rococo styles of the third and early second centuries B.C.<sup>2</sup>

In the gem-cutter's art, the most important innovation was the invention of the cameo — a gem cut in relief instead of intaglio. For such gems layer stones were regularly used, especially sardonyx, and the makers exhibit great skill in adapting their designs to the different layers. Figure 175, with its figures of Aphrodite and Eros and its suggestion of Praxitelean mannerisms, gives an excellent idea of the appearance of such a cameo. The figures are white, the background brown. This example is further interesting because it has the signature of the artist in small engraved letters, "Protarchos made it." The gem has been dated in the second century B.C. Other Hellenistic cameos are of much larger size, and it is clear that most of them were made not for rings, but for pendants, earrings, or necklaces, or to decorate drinking cups, crowns, and toilet articles.

Intaglios also continued to be cut, and both cameos and intaglios exhibit many of the qualities of Hellenistic sculpture, sometimes recalling the graceful figures of Praxiteles, sometimes the passionate types of Skopas, and usually following the

2. See *Greek and Byzantine Studies* II, 1958, p. 108 f.

slenderer proportions introduced by Lysippos. Many display the more realistic treatment of the muscles that is so marked in other Hellenistic products, and portraits became more common than in earlier gems (Fig. 176). The man's features are startling in their naturalism, paralleling in this respect the coin portraits of Euthydemus and Demetrius of Bactria, just discussed. The triple chin, the hooked nose and protruding lower lip are characterized in a manner unknown to Greek art before the second or first centuries B.C. That there was no falling off in skill is shown by such a gem as Figure 177, with its beautifully cut Cassandra taking refuge at the statue of Athena at Troy, holding a sprig of laurel in her right hand. The design belongs to the period of late Hellenistic classicism out of which Augustan decorative art developed in Italy.

In the jewelry of the Hellenistic age the most striking change is the increasing use of stones and pastes to produce effects of color, a practice rarely found in earlier days. A good example is a necklace made up of alternating beads of gold and beads of dark-brown glass paste set in gold, while the chamois heads of the clasp have eyes of white paste with a brown dot in the centre. A gold earring (Fig. 178a) consists of a sard bead set in gold, from which hang seven chains; each chain is finished off by a bead; of these four are of sard, the other three paste. A pendant for an earring (Fig. 178b) has the form of a pointed amphora; the body is of lapis lazuli, the handles, the bottom, and the lip of the vase are of gold, as are also the rosette between the handles and the chain for suspension.

A diadem from the Tomb of the Erotes (p. 170) is made up of an open framework, filled with scrolls of gold wire, to which are attached small flowers. In the hearts of the flowers were bits of colored paste, some of which are preserved.

Another type of diadem, very popular in Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman times, consists of a thin band of gold with leaves and small flowers attached (Fig. 179). The gold plates in many of these diadems are so thin that they must have been made only for the dead. In this example there is a central disc with an Archaizing mask of Medusa and on each of the end pieces is a conventionalized peacock with spread wings.

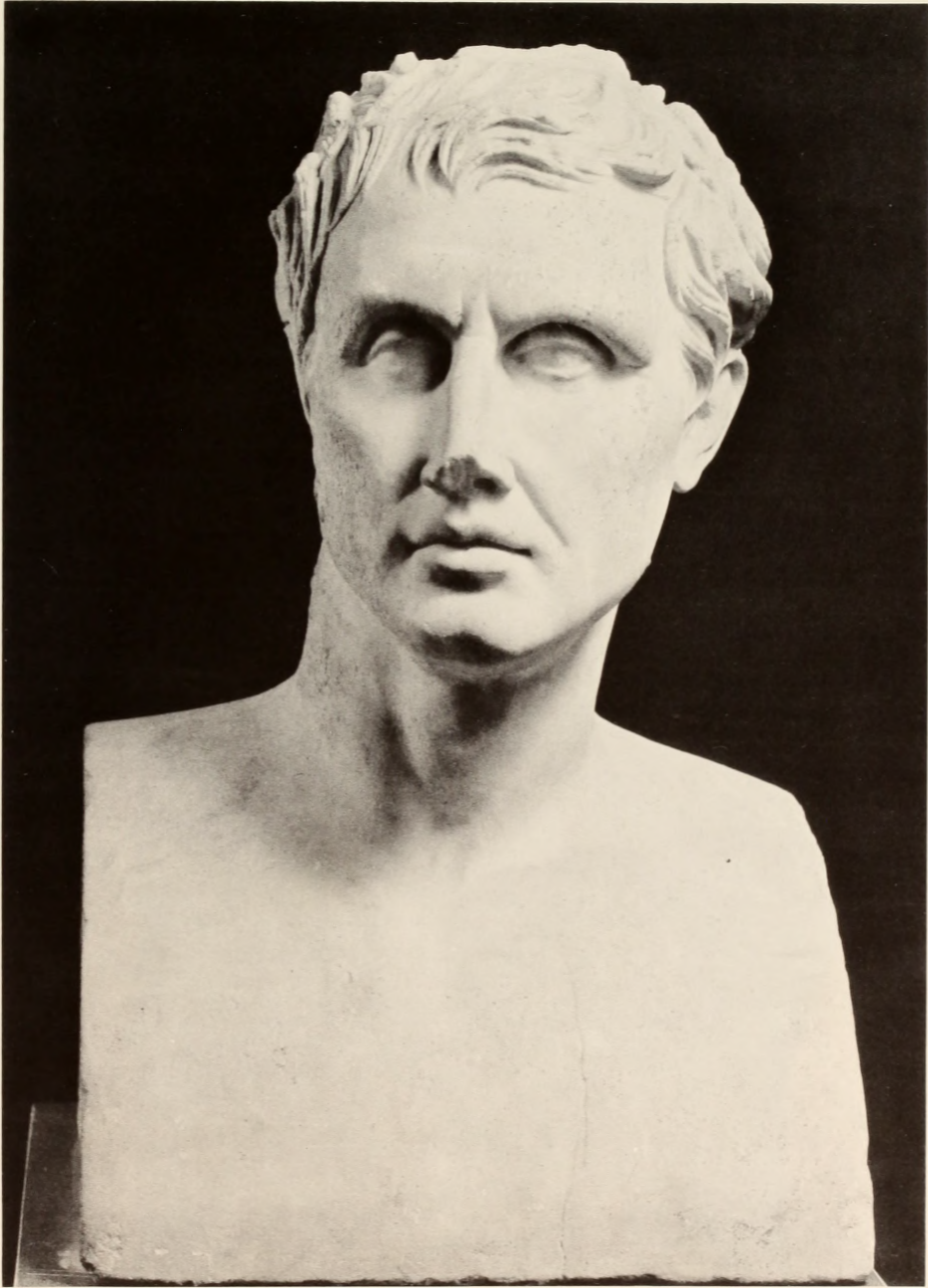
Probably in the early Hellenistic period, but perhaps as early as 400 B.C., belongs a masterpiece of craftsmanship in gold, a pendant in the form of the head of a bull (Fig. 180). The bull's head was found in Western Asia Minor, and we may imagine it worn on a chain around the neck by some one dedicated to the cult of Artemis. The back was closed by a flat sheet of gold projecting beyond the bull's neck in *ovolos* outlined in beaded wires; the structure of the face is well modelled, and the details of hair and eyes are carefully engraved.



## Captions for illustrations pp. 174-188

154. Head of goddess from Chios; about 320 B.C. (10.70)
155. Herm of Menander; Roman copy of a Hellenistic original (97.288)
156. Portrait of Arsinoë II of Egypt; bronze (96.712)
157. Roman copy of the Hanging Marsyas type (01.8195)
158. Portrait of Homer; Hellenistic period (04.13)
159. Portrait of Socrates; Graeco-Roman period (60.45)
160. Base of a Neo-Attic candelabrum (96.702)
161. Death of Priam; Greek relief in the South Italian style (04.15)
162. Archaistic head of Artemis; Graeco-Roman period (99.338)
163. Bronze statuette of a boy; Hellenistic period (10.166)
164. Bowl of "Megarian" ware; Hellenistic period (80.542)
165. Terracotta Eros of Myrina type (00.321)
166. Resting Herakles from South Italy; terracotta, Hellenistic period (01.7967)
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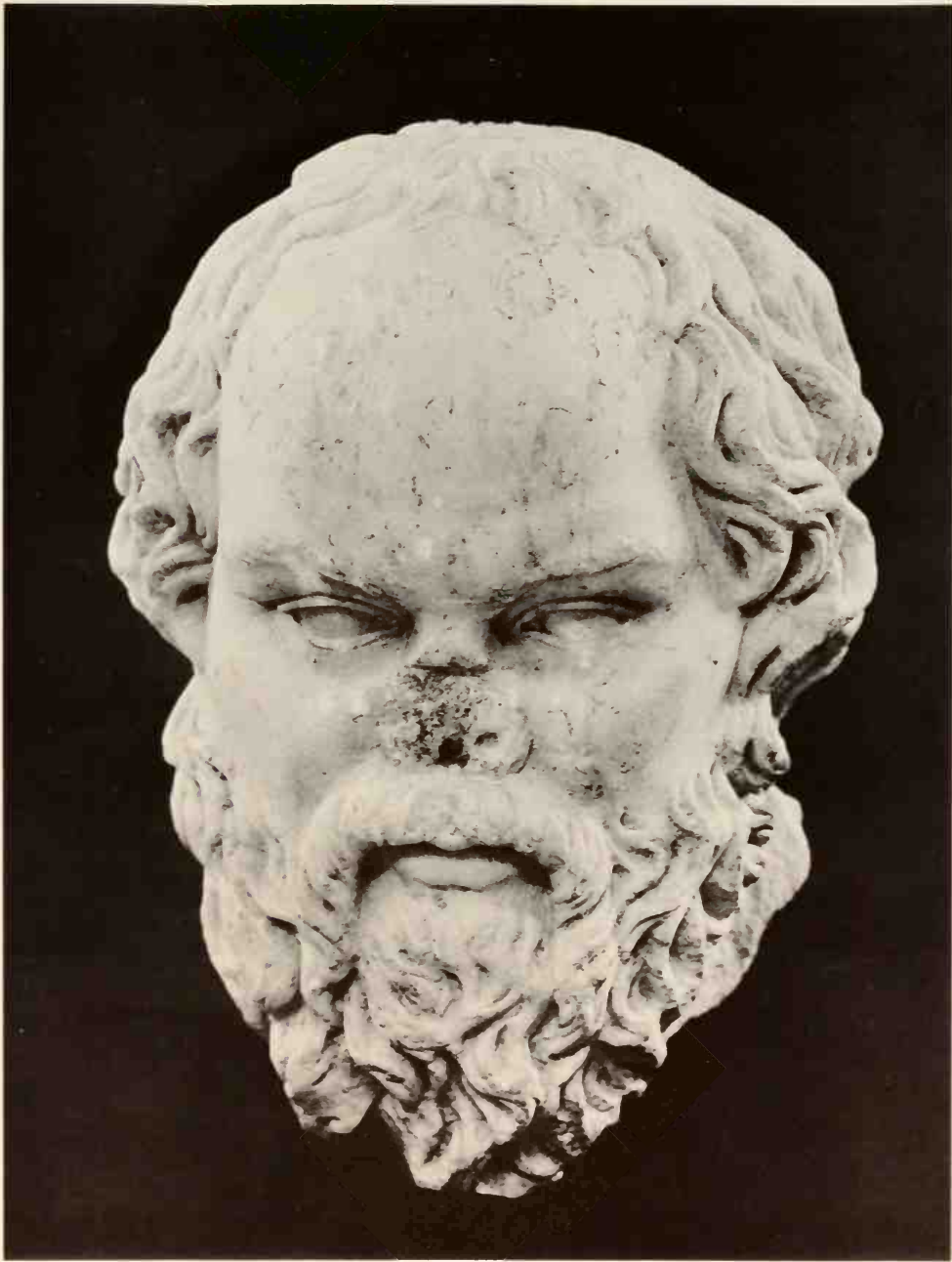


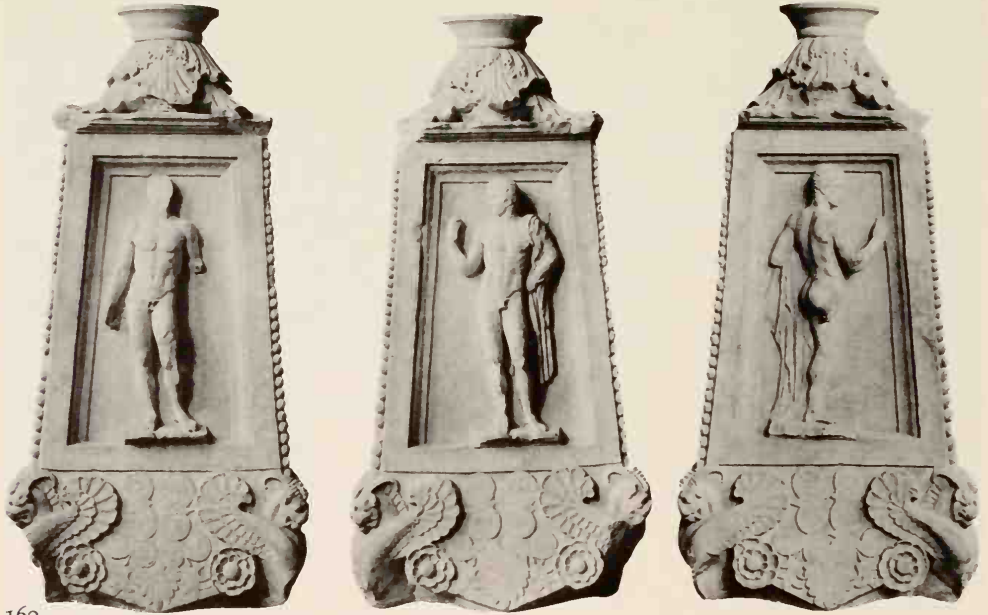










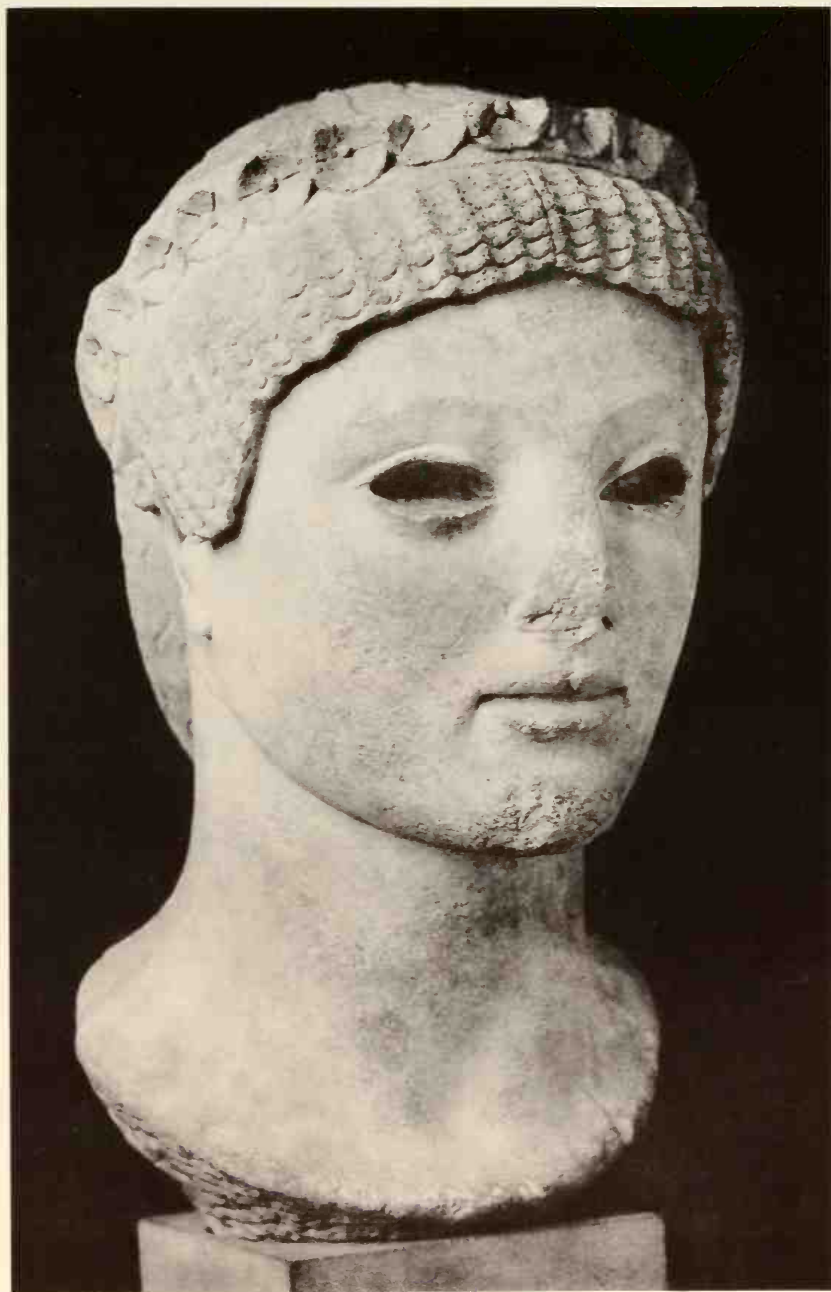


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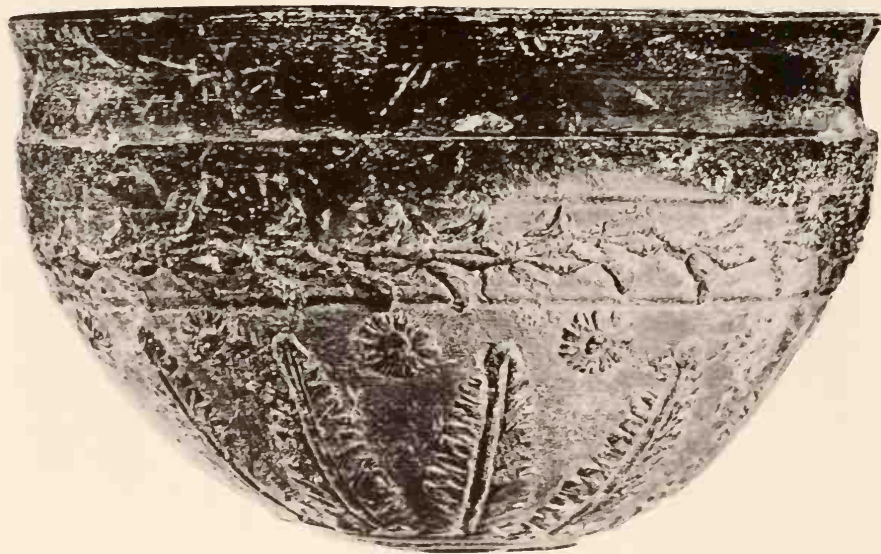


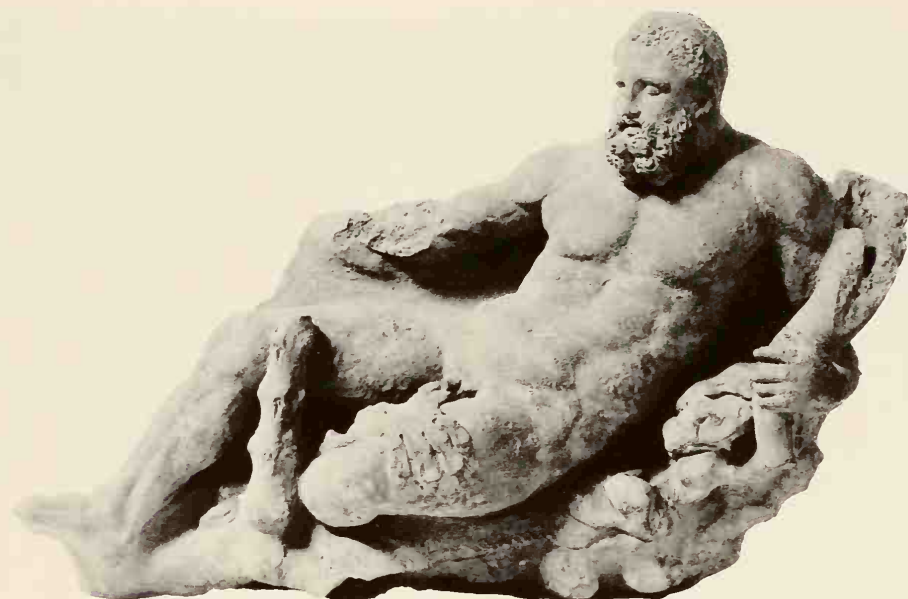
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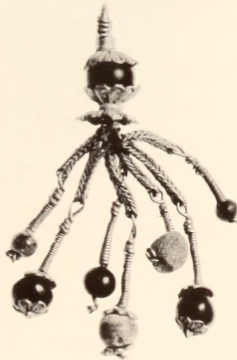


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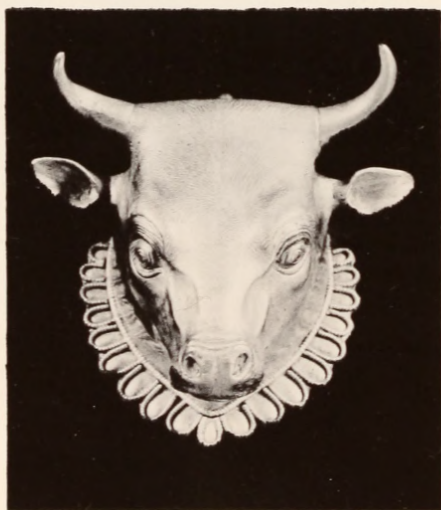






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# The Art of the Etruscans

THE year 146 B.C. witnessed not only the capture of Corinth by Mummius and the reduction of Greece to the status of a Roman province, but also the destruction of Carthage by Scipio. From this time on Rome became the dominant power in the Mediterranean; and in the years between 146 and 30 B.C. by conquest or by negotiation, the Romans gained control of what remained of the post-Alexandrian kingdom in the East as well as of Spain and Gaul in the West. Then, with the reforms inaugurated by Octavian or Augustus in 27 B.C., began the gradual transformation of the government from republican to imperial form, so that this year is generally regarded as marking the beginning of the Roman Empire.

The art of the Romans, as we have noted, was largely dependent on the art of Greece. But it was also affected by developments in Italy, especially by the art of the Etruscans. As to the origin of the Etruscans, it is now generally believed that they came from Asia Minor and settled first in the region north of Rome, which still preserves their name in the modern Tuscany. The monuments suggest that they came in small bands probably in the eighth century B.C., and gradually gained control of an older native population. Later there were Etruscan settlements in Campania and in the Po valley, and it is highly probable that in the sixth century Rome itself was under Etruscan control for a considerable period.

With the fifth century the decline of Etruscan power began. In 474 B.C. an Etruscan fleet suffered a severe defeat by Hiero of Syracuse off Cumae; sometime between 445 and 425 B.C., Samnite invaders gained control in Campania; early in the fourth century the settlements in the Po valley were lost to invading Gauls; Etruria itself was gradually conquered by the Romans during the fourth century and the early years of the third. The last recorded Roman triumph over Etruscans fell in the year 281 B.C.

The evaluation of Etruscan art is one of the most curious chapters in the history of modern criticism. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century, when great quantities of vases, bronzes, and other works of minor art were discovered in chamber tombs in Tuscany, the artists of Etruria were rated very high. With the opening up of Greece to exploration after 1830, however, it became more and more clear that much that had been thought Etruscan was really Greek or inspired by Greek models. It is now generally recognized that the Etruscans relied to some extent on imported Greek

craftsmen and were themselves clever workmen rather than great original artists. But the fact still remains that for several centuries they were far in advance of the other peoples of Italy. In the last two decades the Etruscans and their art have enjoyed wide popularity, in exhibitions and handsomely illustrated books. The reason is that, whatever its sources, Etruscan art combines force, imagination and primitive charm in a manner highly appealing to present-day taste.

The development of Etruscan art follows closely the history of Greek art which we have already traced. An early Geometric period was followed in the seventh century by a period of Oriental influence. Then in the sixth century, principally through trade with the Greek cities of Southern Italy and Sicily, Greek influence gradually gained the upper hand and the successive stages of the Greek development are all reflected in the Etruscan monuments.

It is unfortunate that most of our information about the Etruscans comes from their traditional enemies. In the writings of the Greeks and the Romans they are almost universally described as harsh and cruel in war and given over to luxury and vice in private life. The picture is no doubt exaggerated and truer probably of the later centuries of decline than of the period of Etruscan power. But the tombs, from which most of our direct information has to be derived, tend to confirm the statements of the writers. In the wall paintings of the tombs, of which many are preserved, elaborate banquets, dances, and games play a prominent part; in battle scenes, the painters seem to delight in emphasizing wounds and flowing blood; and in the latest tombs, scenes in the lower world, with horrendous figures of terrifying monsters, play a large part. Evidently the life after death and the proper care of the dead were matters of great concern.

From the dromos or entranceway of an Etruscan tomb, or from the architecture of its entrance, comes an extremely rare masterpiece of Etruscan monumental sculpture. A reclining leopard or "panther" in volcanic stone can be described as lifesize (Fig. 181). He looks to his left and down, nose pressed against his chest, hind legs tucked beneath his body, and tail curled up over his haunches. The power and simplicity of line is most effective, conveying all the feline qualities of soft repose and springlike tension in the beast. Details of carving have been confined to careful, direct modelling of the principal parts of the animal, the ears, large eyes, and nose, the line of the neck and back, and the legs and tail. Color perhaps once gave the leopard an additional sense of liveliness or serenity, but this has long since faded in the dampness of inhumation. The stone at present has a pleasing greyish-brown patina.<sup>1</sup>

The leopard has a strong stylistic affinity with Greek sculpture of the Archaic period, specifically the decades around 575 to 550 B.C. The relationship is with sculp-

1. Brown, W. L., *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford, 1960, Appendix II, "Leopards and Panthers," pp. 170 ff., has collected the known parallels and has indicated that such beasts are leopards, despite the habit of referring to them as panthers.

ture from Western Greece, such as the panther-like beasts in the pediment of the temple of Artemis at Corfu, and with terracottas produced at Corinth and in Italian Greek cities under Corinthian influence. The Etruscan leopard is certainly later than his Greek counterparts, perhaps belonging to the two decades before the middle of the sixth century. Comparable Etruscan leopards exist as small plastic vases or as decorative terracottas in imitation of Corinthian models. The sculptor obviously never saw a leopard, and he must have produced his monumental masterpiece from an imported Archaic Greek prototype. This prototype must have been of a size readily portable. In translating an Archaic Greek leopard into a large stone sculpture, the artist has given his work evident qualities of Etruscan directness and personality. These qualities of lively simplicity demonstrate what is often meant by differences between a major Etruscan and a major Greek sculpture.

Our knowledge of Greek painting in the classical period depends not only on vases and a few small plaques but also on the decoration of Etruscan tombs at Tarquinia and elsewhere. The Tomb of the Triclinium, for instance, shows in its banqueters, musicians and dancers what monumental Greek funerary frescoes of about 470 B.C. would have looked like. A painted terracotta plaque of about 460 B.C. is equally forceful, equally delicate in its presentation of a lyre-player attendant at a convivial scene in an Etruscan tomb (Fig. 182). The plaque was painted and fired to be mounted on the wall of a tomb, as the four holes for pins indicate. The three vertical strokes painted at the bottom right were evidently the artist's guide for placement. A pendant plaque in the collection, a male flutist moving in the same direction, has the number "two" indicated at the lower left.

A woman wearing her red himation in a disarray of ends and folds over her elegant yellow chiton strides purposefully to the right. She holds a large seven-stringed lyre, which is tied by a strip of cloth to her left wrist and against her right hand. Her left hand is open in the gesture of one who has just given the strings an extra vibration or hit the sounding board to add to the beautiful sounds produced with the plectrum in the right hand. Her world is framed by dentils and a bold blue wave pattern above, and big blue and red checkerboards below. A weed with pods, or a stalk of grain, a very feminine plant, grows at the right. Lady and artist are either Etruscan of the region with Transitional Period tombs or Greeks who have come from the south to serve the Etruscans with music and the visual arts. The strength of the composition lies in the strong calligraphy controlling the areas of color. The head in profile is one with the spirit of vase-painting; the arms and hands are both delicate and expressive; and the legs down to the sandalled feet are just awkward enough to carry through the uses of line to give volume or surface areas.

The bodies of the Etruscan dead were sometimes placed in elaborate sarcophagi, sometimes they were burned and the ashes deposited in cinerary urns or chests. Both these types are well represented in the Museum collection. Of the sarcophagi there

are two excellent examples. One (Figs. 183 and 184) was carved in alabaster by a sculptor who depended largely on Greek models. Here the compositions on the long sides — a battle of Greeks and Amazons and a fight between foot-soldiers and horse-men — with their idealized combatants and wide spacing, are reminiscent of Greek reliefs of the fourth century; and the figures on the top, which represent the occupant of the sarcophagus and his wife, are idealized types rather than accurate portraits. The decorative reliefs on the ends, two lions devouring a bull and two griffins attacking a horse, are common motifs in Greek art from the sixth century on. On the basis of the date of the Greek prototypes, particularly Attic grave stelai and architectural reliefs, the sarcophagus may be dated about 330 to 300 B.C.

The second sarcophagus, on loan from the Boston Athenaeum, is undoubtedly later than the first one, belonging in the years ca. 290-280 B.C. The material is peperino, a Central Italian volcanic conglomerate. The subjects are drawn from daily life. One long side is undecorated, because the sarcophagus was to be placed against a wall. On the other (Fig. 185) is represented a betrothal or a wedding. The costumes are those of everyday existence; the attendants of the groom carry symbols of office — curule chair and *lituus* as well as a trumpet and a flute; the followers of the bride hold a parasol, a jewel box, a fan, and a lyre. On one end, the man mounting a chariot is, no doubt, the owner represented as a magistrate, since his attendant carries a *lituus*. The scene on the other end is commonly interpreted as a "last journey." The man and the woman in the car, with a parasol over their heads, are presumably the occupant and his wife, accompanied by a winged "death spirit," who holds a serpent in each hand.

In all this there is nothing of the idealizing Greek spirit. The delight in realistic details is definitely Etruscan, and in a broader sense Italic, since it is found also in paintings and other monuments from South Italy. And in the figures on the cover the same tendency is obvious (Fig. 186). The man, especially, seems clearly to reflect the type which inspired Catullus's reference to the *obesus Etruscus*, "the fat Etruscan."

For incineration burials the Etruscans commonly used a small urn made of terracotta with reliefs on the front only and with a reclining or lying figure on the top (Fig. 187). Since the fronts of these urns were made from moulds, the same subject is often repeated. The battle scene of this urn, from the same or smaller moulds is found on other urns in the Museum collection.

Less usual are large cinerary urns in stone, such as Figure 188, which measures just under twenty-eight inches in length. It was found in a tomb at Chiusi, the ancient Clusium. The material is a coarse travertine, but the sculptor was evidently a man of considerable ability. The winged monster with the fish tails and with small wings on his forehead, holding a sword in his left hand and a stone (?) in his right, is found on other urns and is one of many monstrous types which were associated with death. Though the execution of the female figure on the cover is superficial, it is superior to



many other examples, being well proportioned and naturally posed; and the head has definite individual character. The inscription, which runs from right to left, informs us that she was named Fastia and was "daughter of a Velsi and of Larza, and wife of a Vel." Much of the original color is preserved.

With the urn the Museum acquired all the objects that were deposited in the tomb. These give a lively impression of the things which the Etruscans thought essential for the comfort of the dead in the other world. Among them are silver and bronze vases, the smaller ones, no doubt, for ointments or cosmetics; three mirrors (one with a cover); five gold earrings; a gold pendant; a necklace; five ivory pins and a spoon of ivory; two pairs of dice; and a bronze strigil. The tomb is probably to be dated in the third century B.C.

Of free-standing sculpture in terracotta, which was largely cultivated in Etruria, the Museum possesses no examples comparable to those in the Villa Giulia in Rome, but something of its quality can be seen in a series of antefixes. These were made in moulds and used to finish off the rows of covering tiles in a roof, so that they formed a series of ornaments above the eaves along the sides of temples and other buildings. Many still preserve traces of their original paint. They range in date all the way from the Archaic time to the second century B.C. Heads of satyrs (Fig. 189) or female heads are among the commonest subjects, and it has been suggested that these were thought of primarily as guardians of the building they decorated.

These various objects are the chief examples of Etruscan stone and terracotta sculpture on a large scale in the Museum collection. In addition, there are also numerous bronzes of various sizes. Such bronzes, in general, are reminiscent of their Greek prototypes, but more careless in execution, and many show an interest in lively action and an angularity that is foreign to the Greek models. Good examples from the Archaic period are a female dancer (Fig. 190) and a small athlete (Fig. 191) which originally held a staff in the left hand. The palmette which rises from the head of this figure suggests that it served as a handle or support. The Etruscan modeller's disregard of proportion is well shown in the overly long and heavy arms of a warrior thrusting with a spear and holding a sword in his left hand (Fig. 192), one of a long series of such figures which probably served as cheap votive offerings. The style of the early Hellenistic period is reflected in the figure of a girl which served as a handle for a fairly large patera or bowl (Fig. 193).

Sometimes one finds the Etruscans utilizing Greek designs and figures in curiously functional fashions. Such is the case with a bronze situla or pail made in an Etruscan workshop in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. (Fig. 194). The foliate ornaments above and below the youth are Greek in spirit, but the youth holds an Etruscan incense box; the panther on the cover is grotesque in pose, and the spout is formed by a griffin swallowing a horse's hoof. The workmanship is up to the best standards of Greek fifth-century bronze vessels, but the location and combination of

elements could only have been produced by craftsmen who grasped the forms but not the dignity of Greek art. At the same time, as with so many comparable Etruscan works of art, the total effect is one of refreshing exercise of imagination.

Etruscan metalworkers had a flare for capturing the spirit of animals, real and mythological. In this respect they perhaps betray their descent from peoples of the ancient Near East. A hollow bronze lion's head of the late sixth or early fifth century catches something of the Etruscan sympathy for Oriental beasts (Fig. 195). The mouth opens and tongue and teeth protrude in suggestion of animal ferocity. The lion's head was found with other objects in a tomb near Orvieto and was probably the termination of the pole on a votive chariot. Another Etruscan lion belonging to the Archaic period was found near Giarrantana in Sicily and was probably attached to a cauldron (Fig. 196). The mane, treated partly by modelling and partly by incised lines, the large paws, and the half-sitting pose give a charm which in a less dignified way matches that of the Archaic limestone lion from Perachora, discussed and illustrated among the monumental Greek sculptures of ca. 550-500 B.C.

One interesting group among the Etruscan bronzes consists of the so-called "cistae," round boxes placed in the tombs to contain smaller offerings, especially toilet articles. Such boxes are often called "Praenestine" cistae, since many have been discovered at Praeneste, the ancient Palestrina. Although this city was in Latium, its art was always dominated by Etruscan ideas and it seems likely that there was a considerable Etruscan element in the population. The typical Praenestine cista was a cylinder of bronze about a foot high, with three separately cast feet and a slightly convex cover. The principal decoration consisted of incised patterns and figured subjects on body and cover. On the upper part of the body was a series of discs to which were attached chains, presumably for convenience in carrying. The handle was usually a group of two or three cast figures attached to the centre of the cover, a detail which has been lost in the Museum example (Fig. 197). On this the feet are in the form of lion's paws and each has a crouching lion at the top. On the cover is a representation of Dionysos with satyrs and maenads. On the body there are two subjects, a camp scene and a young man pursued by a Fury. One curious feature of all the cistae, which is often cited as evidence of the lack of taste on the part of the maker and his public, is that the handle and the discs for the chains are attached to the body with no regard for the incised decoration.

Another group among the Etruscan bronzes is the great series of mirrors which have come from the tombs. Some of these are of the box type, but most are simple discs with a tang, to which handles of ivory or other materials were attached. One side of the disc was polished, the other was decorated with a design incised or in relief. Many of the subjects are drawn from Greek mythology, and the development follows to a certain extent the progress of the painters of the Greek red-figured vases.

The execution in many specimens is careless in the extreme, but there is a small group on which the linear drawing is reminiscent of the best Greek design. Such for instance, are the boy with the horse (Fig. 198) and the Herakles and Geras (Old Age) (Fig. 199). This is one of the lesser deeds of Herakles, not accounted among the canonical twelve labors, but it is represented on Greek vases, where Geras appears with the same exaggerated ugliness that is emphasized by the engraver of the mirror.

From about 600 to 424 B.C. the Etruscans dominated the Roman Campania, the region of Central Italy centring around Capua and north of Naples. Here the Etruscans developed direct contact with the Greek colonists along the coast leading southward, and the agricultural prosperity of the region produced a demand for imported Greek works of art and objects made after their inspiration. A masterpiece in the latter respect is a bronze kouros or youth, made in Campania about 560 B.C. (Fig. 200). Attachments behind him indicate he was part of a cista or comparable utensil. The hatchet face and braided hair remind one of an American Indian, and the schematic rendering of anatomical details complete the impression of a statuette far removed from Greek parallels.

With imported Greek pottery in the Etruscan tombs from the seventh to the early fifth century are found quantities of a black ware which is called *bucchero* or *bucchero nero*. It differs from the plain black Greek vases in that the color is due, not to the glaze, but to a process of firing by which the clay became black all through. Although similar wares are found in Greece, they were more highly developed in Etruria, and the *bucchero* is the most characteristic product of the Etruscan potteries. The shapes often imitate Greek clay or metal forms, but they seldom attain the fine proportions of the Greek originals and often seem overladen with plastic ornament (Fig. 201). In the decoration, motifs derived from the Orient, like the alternating lions and horsemen on an oinochoe (Fig. 202), play a great part. On one group the reliefs were obtained by the use of an engraved cylinder, so that the same figures are repeated several times (Fig. 203), and the influence of bronze originals is clear in the supports of a series of goblets (Fig. 204). The curiously exuberant imagination of the Etruscan potter finds expression in vases in the form of birds and other animals and even of a human leg (Fig. 205).

From the *bucchero* ware one gains the impression that the Etruscan potters were imitators rather than really creative artists, and this impression is confirmed by their painted pottery. Both black-figured and red-figured vases are found in the Etruscan tombs, but their pale clay and careless execution make them easy to distinguish from the Attic imports. The column-krater (Fig. 206) in shape and scheme of decoration follows its Attic model closely. On each side is a group of three figures; on one Zeus intervenes to protect Athena from an attack by Ares, an episode from the Trojan story of the death of Kyknos; on the other Ajax carries the body of Achilles,

escorted by a female figure who is probably Thetis. Apart from the hasty execution, the pale clay and the extremely deep and heavy incised lines are the principal evidence of the hand of an Etruscan painter.

Of the red-figured style, the big skyphos (Fig. 207) may serve as an example. It is over fifteen inches in height, far too large to be used as a drinking-cup, and the enormous palmettes about the handles could hardly have been done by a Greek even in the fourth century. The subjects on the two sides seem to be related — on one a man is received by his wife, while a typical Etruscan death demon hovers above them; on the other, the same man (?) is attacked by a youth with a sword. It seems possible that the first scene shows Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, with the premonition of death completing the picture; in the second, Orestes surprises and slays Aegisthus inside the palace. If, on the other hand, there seems to be little analogy with any Greek story, the suggestion that the reference is to some otherwise unknown Etruscan hero is plausible. Among the un-Greek elements, apart from those already noted, are the literal rendering of the house and its roof, the use of a cornucopia as a filling ornament, and the indication of anatomical details by lines of dots.

Among a luxurious people like the Etruscans one would expect the art of gem-engraving to be cultivated, and as a matter of fact the tombs have produced many gems. Here again, however, the unoriginal character of Etruscan art is obvious. The gems are almost without exception in the form of scarabs and the designs are largely taken from Greek heroic legend. The painted vases appear to have served as models; it seems significant that on the Etruscan gems the names of heroes are frequently placed beside them, whereas such inscriptions are rare on Greek gems, but common, as we have noted, on Greek vases. Often, too, the interpretation depends on the vase-paintings. So on a scarab of early fifth century style (Fig. 208a), a dead warrior is borne by two winged figures, one male, the other female. The composition is reminiscent of that on several Greek vases, where Sleep and Death carry the body of Memnon. But Sleep and Death are both male figures. On other vases, Eos, the mother of Memnon, is represented carrying the body of her son. Apparently the Etruscan engraver has "contaminated" the two types.

On a slightly later gem (Fig. 208b) the warrior in the jaws of a dragon is identified as Jason by the design on a Greek kylix, where the hero's name is written beside him. On a roughly contemporary stone (Fig. 208c) Ajax falls on his sword. The delight of the Etruscan engraver in details is well illustrated by a scarab dated 450-430 B.C. on which Herakles holds up the heavens, while Atlas (with his name inscribed in Etruscan: *Aril*) plucks the Hesperian apples from the tree and feeds the serpent guarding them (Fig. 208d). Herakles is identified by his lion's skin and his club, and in the heavens above, sun, moon, and stars are engraved. Here again the Etruscan appears as a skillful workman, but dependent on the Greek for ideas.

In contrast to the conditions in most of the arts, the jewelry from the Etruscan



tombs shows less dependence on foreign models. During the period of greatest power, especially, the earrings and fibulae (safety-pins), necklaces, diadems, bracelets, and armlets exhibit shapes and decoration which betray no little originality. Much of the jewelry is made in very thin gold, intended only for the use of the dead, but other pieces are heavier and clearly made for everyday use.

For earrings a favorite form is what is called the "box" type, consisting of a cylinder of gold with a disc at each end (Fig. 209). Designs are usually in small panels, filled with rosettes and other conventional patterns and occasionally figures of animals or monsters, as here two sphinxes appear on the plate which masked the wire for suspension. The common type of fibula has the so-called leech bow with a long pin (Fig. 210a). An unusual example, which may be dated in the seventh century, has a bow in the form of a pair of mules, with a single body (Fig. 210b). Much of this early jewelry is skillfully decorated with "granulated" designs, consisting of small globules of gold soldered in rows to the background, a technique which the Etruscan jewelers employed with very great skill. In the later periods, heavy and overlaid forms tend to prevail and the workmanship often becomes careless.

Although it is true that the Etruscans were clever and imaginative workmen rather than great artists, it should always be remembered that they were far in advance of all the other Italic peoples for several centuries. They certainly appreciated the products of Greeks, Egyptians, and Phoenicians which they sought so eagerly. And quite apart from their accomplishment in the field of art, they exercised an enormous influence on the civilization of the Romans. Many of the practices which we think of as typically Roman — divination from the flight of birds or the entrails of animals, gladiatorial combats, insignia of office — were borrowed from them.

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181. Reclining leopard, stone; Etruscan, 575-550 B.C. (61.130)
182. Lady with a lyre; Etruscan painted plaque, about 460 B.C. (62.362)
183. Etruscan sarcophagus; about 330 to 300 B.C. (86.145)
184. Etruscan sarcophagus; detail of cover (86.145)
185. Etruscan sarcophagus; about 290 to 280 B.C. (Athenaeum 1281)
186. Etruscan sarcophagus; detail of cover (Athenaeum 1281)
187. Terracotta cinerary urn; Etruscan (76.248)
188. Travertine cinerary urn from Chiusi; Etruscan, third century B.C. (13.2860)
189. Etruscan terracotta antefix from Veii; sixth century B.C. (31.912)
190. Bronze statuette of dancing woman; Etruscan, Archaic period (01.7482)
191. Bronze statuette of an athlete; Etruscan, Archaic period (98.654)
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193. Bronze patera handle in form of a girl; Etruscan, fourth or third century B.C. (98.679)
194. Bronze situla and cover; Etruscan, fifth century B.C. (91.228)
195. Bronze lion's head; Etruscan, fifth century B.C. (55.497)
196. Bronze lion; Etruscan, ca. 525 B.C. (01.7469)
197. Praenestine cista; Etruscan, third century B.C. (93.1439)
198. Boy with horse; Etruscan engraved mirror, fourth century B.C. (99.495)
199. Herakles and Geras; Etruscan engraved mirror, fifth or fourth century B.C. (01.7467)
200. Bronze statuette of a youth; Etruscan, from Campania (98.653)
201. Etruscan bucchero amphora; sixth century B.C. (76.193)
202. Etruscan bucchero oinochoe; sixth century B.C. (08.251)
203. Bucchero kylix; Etruscan, fifth century B.C. (80.535)
204. Bucchero goblet; Etruscan, sixth century B.C. (00.367)
205. Bucchero drinking horn; Etruscan, sixth century B.C. (80.580)
206. Etruscan black-figured column-krater; fifth century B.C. (99.530)
207. Etruscan red-figured skyphos; fourth century B.C. (97.372)
208. Four Etruscan scarabs (21.1200, 21.1203, 27.717, 98.736)
209. Gold earring of "box" type; Etruscan (95.91)
210. Two Etruscan gold fibulae (01.7308, 37.513)

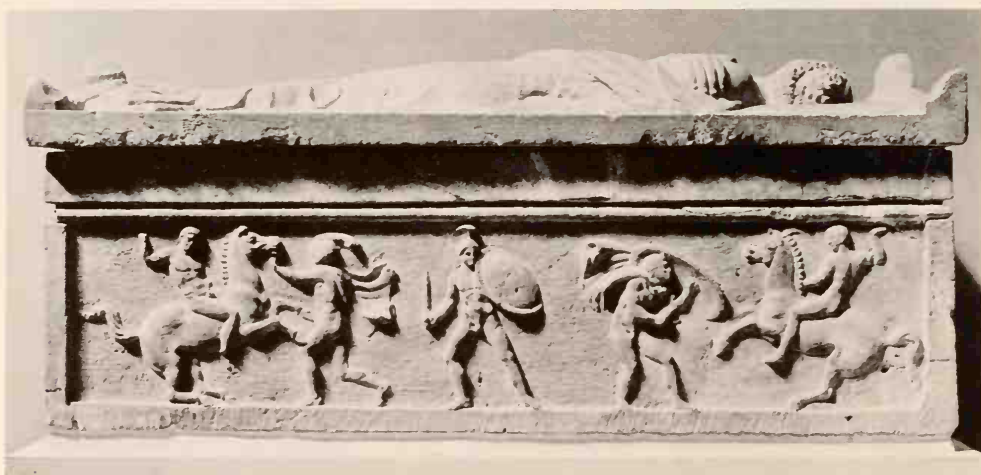






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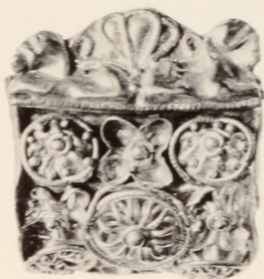


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210a

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# Roman Art

THE comparatively few monuments that are preserved from the period of the Roman Republic (509-27 B.C.) reveal a spirit quite different from that of Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries, and even from the more naturalistic creations of the Hellenistic age. In common with the other peoples of Italy, the early Romans evidently demanded even more naturalistic and realistic approaches to the problems of the sculptor and the painter than those of the Hellenistic masters, and elements of the development of Roman art, after the conquest of Greece brought them into closer contact with Greek art, reflect the struggle between the opposing forces of naturalism and idealism. In general the naturalistic tendency prevailed, for the Romans were a practical people whose strength lay in their sound common sense and genius for organization, rather than in any high imaginative quality. No doubt this is the reason why most of the creations of the Roman age were the work of Greeks and other foreigners. Among all the arts, only architecture attracted Roman practitioners, this no doubt because of its practical appeal. But the "foreign" masters must have had to satisfy their patrons, so that their works may be fairly called Roman and expected to reveal Roman ideas and attitudes.

Of all the products of the Republican time, the portraits that have been preserved are the most revealing. The largest in the Museum collection is the tomb relief, Figure 211. Such reliefs were set into the façades of family tombs and contained portraits of the owner and members of his family. The inscriptions below the figures record the names of the three persons represented: "Gessia Fausta, freedwoman of Publius; Publius Gessius, son of Publius, of the Romilian tribe; Publius Gessius Primus, freedman of Publius." The central figure, therefore, is the owner of the tomb, a Roman citizen, who no doubt had served as a soldier, since he wears a breastplate and a military cloak; the others were slaves whom he had freed. The inscriptions at the sides furnish even more interesting information. The one at the left reads, "From the testament of Publius Gessius Primus, freedman of Publius"; and the one on the right, "Under the direction of Gessia Fausta, freedwoman of Publius." From other inscriptions we know that middle-class Romans often married their freed slaves. Probably, therefore, Fausta was the wife, as well as the freedwoman of Publius, and Primus their son, born before the mother was freed, and so also a slave. Since the tomb

was built with funds supplied by the will of Publius, under the direction of Fausta, we infer that the son died prematurely, and the tomb was erected under the supervision of the mother.

The letter-forms of the inscription permit a date before the time of Augustus, and the marked naturalism of the portraits suggests a date in the Republican period. Certainly there is no attempt to idealize or flatter the dead such as often appears during the empire. This naturalism in early Roman portraits may be partially accounted for by the fact that the Romans from early times preserved wax masks of their dead in the atria of their houses, and these might serve as models for the sculptor. But the fundamental reason is undoubtedly the Roman's desire to have his portrait look as much like him as possible.

Equally characteristic of its period is the over-lifesize head of an old man, either completely bald or with his head shaven (Fig. 212). This is a fine example of the tendency which appears in native Italian sculpture to stress especially the bony structure of the skull. The emphasis on individual traits — the furrowed forehead, the tightly closed, asymmetrical mouth, the swellings under the eyes, the almost straight line from the crown of the head to the neck — is also noteworthy. The material, a very hard volcanic stone, was used in Rome only towards the end of the Republican period.

Even more remarkable is the terracotta head from the neighborhood of Cumae (Fig. 213), in which, though a more attractive personality is suggested, the striving for exact portraiture is equally evident. Indeed, it is highly probable that it was made from a mould taken from the face of the subject while he was still alive. Heads modelled from death masks usually betray their origin in sunken cheeks and other details, whereas the astonishingly living quality of this head and the minuteness of the detail in the fine wrinkles of the skin are its outstanding qualities. Moreover, the greater width of the right nostril suggests that it was plugged with a tube to enable the man to breathe while the mould was being made. Since Lysistratos, the brother of Lysippos, is said to have invented a process for taking casts from living models, the method was undoubtedly known to the masters of the late Republican period. Only the face, naturally, could be made from such a cast; the back of the head, including the ears, and the bust were modelled free-hand, as well as the eyes, the hair, and other details such as the eyebrows and the crow's-feet at the corners of the eyes.

To the last years of the Republic or the early Augustan period belongs a fragmentary relief of a man reclining on a couch covered with drapery (Fig. 214). He holds a drinking vase and a floral wreath in his left hand, and a tree with filleted vine completes the scene at the right. It has been suggested that this mild little man concentrating on something in the missing part of the relief is the poet Horace (65-8 B.C.), and the portrait agrees with his likeness surviving on contorniates or game-tokens of the fourth century A.D.

The monuments from the reigns of Augustus and his immediate successors, during

what are called the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods (27 B.C.-A.D. 68), are characterized by a certain reaction from the extreme naturalism of the Republican period, which may fairly be attributed to the influence of Greek ideas. The change is illustrated by one of two portraits of the Emperor Augustus himself. One (Fig. 215a), which is the work of a very accomplished master, reveals in the careful rendering of the bony structure, the wrinkles at the root of the nose, and the strongly modelled muscles of the neck, a realistic treatment, but is far removed from the intense naturalism of Republican days. The other (Fig. 215b) evidently was made as part of a statue of heroic size. In this, although it shows the characteristic traits that appear in other portraits of Augustus — the rather flat skull, the broad forehead, the sensitive mouth, the round chin, the protruding ears, and the hair somewhat disordered, with a series of pointed locks in front — all minor details are omitted, after the manner of Greek portraits of the great age. The almost heroic treatment of the emperor's hair, coupled with a more ideal handling of the face and a certain dry lifelessness in carving, suggest this portrait of Augustus was carved in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), an emperor whose Greek tastes led to academic revival of Greek sculptural principles.

A portrait of Augustus's successor Tiberius, whose reign covered the years A.D. 14-37, is equally notable for its idealizing tendencies (Fig. 216). Only characteristic features are emphasized, such as the broad flat cranium, the projecting ears, and the thin, tightly compressed lips, turning down at the corners.

A favorite type for portraits of the emperors was the statue in armor. The example in the Museum (Fig. 217), in spite of its loss of separately made head and limbs, gives a good idea of what such statues were like. Of the short tunic, over which the breastplate was worn, only a bit appears on the upper left arm. The metal cuirass is modelled in imitation of the bodily forms it covers. It had a leather lining, which ended at the armholes and at the bottom in broad, loose strips with fringed ends. Attached to the lower edge are two rows of pendant metal plates, with relief decoration. On the cuirass itself the principal decoration consists of a statue of Athena between two Victories. Above is a gorgoneion and below a palmette from which scrolls ending in flowers extend into the field. The Athena or Minerva, the Victories poised on tiptoe, and the secondary details reflect Greek designs, which are paralleled in Neo-Attic decorative reliefs. The Emperor Domitian (A.D. 81-96) identified himself with the cult of Minerva, and his complete cuirassed statue found at Vaison in France has the same designs on breastplate and semicircular tabs below.

Female figures of the Roman period are, in general, less numerous than male figures, but they are more easily datable since fashions in hairdressing seem to have changed almost as rapidly in ancient Rome as in modern America, and the portraits of the empresses on coins enable us to date, within limits, the various styles. For portrait busts, also, further evidence for dating is found in the form. Early busts show only a little of the shoulders and the breast; later more and more of the breast and

the arms was represented. On this basis and on the simple dressing of the hair, which is that found on coins of Augustus and Tiberius, the portrait of an unknown woman (Fig. 218) may be placed in the early Imperial period. The face is that of a capable and rather determined-looking woman, and in spite of the simplicity of the modelling, in which it resembles other Augustan portraits, it produces a remarkable effect of lifelikeness.

Statues of women, unless portraying them as goddesses, are always fully draped, and often skillfully carved. A seated figure (Fig. 219) is a good example from the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian periods. At first sight this looks as if it might be a Greek work of the fifth century. But the emphasis on details is contrary to the spirit of the great age, and the elaborate and deeply cut folds, with their sharp edges and angles, produce a restless effect which is far removed from the simplicity of the earlier day.

Similar qualities are found in a standing figure (Fig. 220), which in pose recalls Greek statues of the fourth century. But here again the deep cutting in the folds, the accurate representation of the right hand under the drapery, and the careful rendering of a ring on the third finger of the left hand are indications of Roman date. The end of a short curl at the left side of the neck suggests a style of hairdressing that was in vogue about the middle of the first century after Christ.

Among the most successful of Roman portraits are those of young children. A head of a girl, which probably was made for insertion in a statue (Fig. 221), may be dated, by the braid on top of the head, in the reign of Tiberius. Especially charming is the bust of a boy two or three years old (Fig. 222), with his chubby cheeks and chin, and slightly opened lips. Since more of the breast is included than is customary in the Julio-Claudian period, the bust may be dated in the second half of the first century after Christ, in the Flavian or early Trajanic periods.

The period of the Flavian emperors (A.D. 69-96) witnessed a revolt from the classicism of the Julio-Claudian epoch, which produced some of the most striking portraits of the Roman age, and this partial return to the more naturalistic tendencies of the earlier time is also characteristic of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). Very typical of Trajanic portraiture is the head of Marciana, the sister of the Emperor (Fig. 223). The identification is based on coins issued in honor of Marciana after her death in A.D. 112. Here there is nothing "classical," but a very successful naturalism is obvious in the fresh and delicate modelling of the lower part of the face, in the careful rendering of the eyebrows, and above all in the hair, with its remarkable "false front" of heavy curls.

As mentioned in connection with the second portrait of Augustus, the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) was a second period of Greek influence, sometimes called the "Hadrianic revival," due, no doubt, to the Emperor's interest in Greece and Egypt and their ancient civilizations; and this interest carried over, to some extent, into the succeeding Antonine period (A.D. 138-192). It can be seen in the lifesize statue of a



woman sacrificing (Fig. 224). This was found in a tomb at Pozzuoli near Naples, where it had fallen from a niche some four feet above the level of the floor. In spite of the damage which it has suffered, the motif is clear; with her right hand the woman was scattering grains of incense on an incense burner from a box which she held in her left hand. Her robe is drawn over her head, as was customary in making sacrifice. Her drapery is Greek, rather than Roman, and reproduces a type of drapery common in the fourth century B.C. But the head is definitely Roman in spirit, with its careful rendering of the flesh and its individual mouth. The coiffure suggests a date in the early Antonine period.

To the same date on the basis of the hair and the shape of the bust, which includes the breast and the greater part of the shoulders, may be assigned the portrait of a woman of about thirty years of age (Fig. 225). In the eyes the iris and the pupil are incised, a practice which began during the reign of Hadrian.

A head of a man with curly hair and a dreamy expression, both treated in a realistic fashion, comes from Aydin (ancient Tralles) in the Maeander valley of Western Asia Minor (Fig. 226). He was probably an Anatolian Greek, and the treatment of his face not only looks back to traditions of Hellenistic portraiture in the region but foreshadows the spiritual quality characteristic of third and fourth-century portraits from the Ionian coast. This man sat for his portrait about A.D. 140.

In many portraits of men a new criterion for dating may be found in the beard. Hadrian introduced the custom of wearing a short, clipped beard, and under his successors, Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), longer beards and longer hair became fashionable. Thus the bust of a man (Fig. 227), which includes the breast and the beginning of the arms, may safely be assigned to the Antonine period. He wears the paludamentum, or military cloak, fastened by a large brooch on the shoulder, which seems strangely out of character with the weak and selfish face. The bust was found in Spain, a fact which reminds us of the developed quality of Roman art in the Western provinces by this period.

Even in the third century, which in certain other fields is marked by a distinct decline in skill, the art of portraiture remained at a comparatively high level. A lifesize head of a man, the remains of a bronze statue, belongs to the first decades of the century (Fig. 228). The hair is treated in masses of locks, but the beard shows beginnings of the incised-line technique used so widely in portraits of the period A.D. 220-300. The comparatively few large-scale portraits in bronze that have survived barbarian lootings and the metal famine of the Middle Ages confirm our deductions that the best artists worked as much or more in metals than in marbles. The head was found in the Tiber near Ponte Sisto, in a group of bronzes which may have adorned a triumphal arch nearby.

The bust of Balbinus (Fig. 229), identified by his portrait on coins, is in perfect accord with the literary accounts of that emperor. He is said to have governed with

success some of the more peaceful provinces and to have won fame as an orator and a poet. In the spring of A.D. 238 he and Pupienus were elected joint emperors by the Senate, but in July both were murdered by a group of disaffected members of the Praetorian Guard. The portrait suggests a rather heavy, easy-going man, ill-fitted for the difficulties and responsibilities of the imperial purple in the troubled days of the third century. Two small, winged griffins are carved either side of the acanthus leaf at the base of the bust. These mythological beasts were traditional symbols of imperial power and apotheosis. The bust was no doubt set up by some one in sympathy with the ideals of Senatorial government.

The last portrait head in the round (Fig. 230) comes from the region of Ostia, the seaport of Rome, and was carved in the generation from A.D. 265 to 285. The rule of the Emperor Gallienus (253-268) witnessed a return in portraiture to styles of the Augustan, Hadrianic and Antonine periods. These older styles, seen best in their revived form in the ten sure portraits of Gallienus, were expressed in the intensified framework of the concentration on intellect and general plastic form found in portraits after the middle of the third century. As the bust of Balbinus demonstrates, the hair and beard of mid-third century portraits had been expressed by incised lines rather than modelled locks, but portraits of the time of Gallienus and later in the Antonine baroque tradition, such as the bearded man shown here, were marked by undercutting of the drill for beard and occasionally for the hair over the forehead. The large eyes of the present head, the separation of the long face from hair and beard, and the treatment of the beard on the neck under the jaws date the portrait in the period of Gallienus's successors. The man may even be the Emperor Numerianus (A.D. 282-284), represented in a head which took its model from portraits of the Antonine rulers Antoninus Pius or Commodus. One should compare the head with the Antonine bust of a bearded man and the early Severan bronze head from the Tiber, discussed in the previous paragraphs.

Of the large historical reliefs which play so great a part in the sculpture of the Empire, the Museum has no complete examples, but a fragment in the style of the Augustan period (Fig. 231) probably comes from such a relief. The features are similar to those of Agrippa, the famous general of Augustus. The relief was acquired in Athens.

A fragment of one of Rome's great imperial triumphal arches (Fig. 232) provides a more precisely identifiable example of Roman historical sculpture. One side of the relief shows the head of a Roman soldier, a standard-bearer or *signifer* wearing a bear-skin cap, his badge of office in the Roman legions. The scale is just over lifesize, and what remains is powerfully enough modelled to suggest the grandeur of the original scene, perhaps one of an imperial address (*adlocutio*) to the troops. Such scenes entered the imperial artistic repertory in the period after the death of Augustus, reached fullest iconographic development under Trajan and the Antonines, and continued in various

fashions of increasing Medievalism to the end of the fourth century. This side of the relief was seen and sketched by the French artist Pierre Jacques of Rheims in 1577 in the Piazza Sciarra off the Via Flaminia (the modern Corso) in Rome.

On the basis of the drawing by Pierre Jacques and from the testimony of sixteenth century writers, F. Castagnoli identified the relief as having belonged to the Arch of Claudius, erected in Rome in A.D. 51 to commemorate the conquest of Britain eight years earlier. The arch was spanned by an aqueduct, the Aqua Virgo, built to relieve the water shortage in the centre of Rome. Arch and aqueduct were partly destroyed when the barbarians invaded the city in the early Middle Ages, but other sculptures (now lost) survived until the sixteenth century. Part of the inscription of the arch, recording Claudius's deeds, was found in 1641 and is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on Rome's Capitoline Hill.

Roman decorative sculptors were more preoccupied with scenes of religious and civic ritual than their Greek forebears. In this respect they draw on the Etruscan tradition embodied in the second of the two principal Etruscan sarcophagi in the collection (see above). A relief of the Augustan period, acquired in Rome where it appears to have been known since the eighteenth century, comes from the side of a large altar or, more likely, the interior of a tomb or small temple (Fig. 233). The subject, treated in the crisp, careful style of early Roman imperial architectural sculpture on structures of small scale, is a sacrifice to Bacchus or Dionysos. The recalcitrant victim, a goat, is being led in from the left by a *victimarius*. A priestess pours a libation in the centre, and another woman and a *camillus*, or boy attendant, complete the scene. While considerable naturalism is used for the two male attendants, the priestess and her female companion are handled in poses and styles borrowed from Neo-Attic art as encouraged in Rome under Augustus. (Compare the candelabrum base and the relief with the death of Priam, discussed above under late Hellenistic sculpture.)

Slabs from a decorative relief (Fig. 234), in their deep undercutting and emphasis on light and shade, are typical of the Flavian age. The development of the tails of the griffins into elaborate scrolls of acanthus shows the exuberance which is often found in Roman decoration. The relief shown here is one of a pair, with the griffins facing in opposite directions. They come from Torre Annunziata between Capua and Naples and probably adorned the front of a public building or market. Comparable reliefs are still to be seen on the shop fronts near the Basilica Aemilia in the Forum in Rome.

To the second century, because of its careful workmanship, should probably be assigned a relief representing Mithras slaying a bull (Fig. 235). The relief comes from Rome. Mithras was an ancient Persian divinity, originally a god of light, whose worship spread rapidly over the Roman world. His slaying of the bull was associated with the creation of life, and this relief exhibits most of the characteristic details of the subject. Mithras, dressed in Oriental costume — jacket with tight sleeves, trousers, boots, and short cloak — pulls back the bull's head with his left hand, and with his right

plunges a short sword into its throat. A serpent rears its head, and a dog leaps to catch the blood of the bull from which, and from different parts of the bull's body, it was believed, all created things sprang.

Among reliefs of the later Roman age, from the time of Hadrian on, one of the largest classes consists of marble sarcophagi, of which hundreds, literally, are preserved. These are interesting from many points of view. On many of them the subjects have little relation to death; they are largely drawn from Greek mythology or Greek decorative art, and show the persistence of Greek influence, even though the figures are usually crowded together and carved at different heights after the manner of late Roman relief. The execution, too, varies from work of great quality to carving that is often hasty and careless. Figure 236 shows the front of a Roman marble sarcophagus in the Garden Court. The deceased, a man of middle age, stands between two sets of the Four Seasons. The Seasons carry grapes and other fruits suggesting a harvest festival, although the panthers and the thyrsuses emphasize the Bacchic joyousness of the march-past of time presided over by the occupant of the tomb. Drill holes and exaggerated details are characteristic of this work of ca. A.D. 260; on each end is a more summarily executed relief of a man driving a plough drawn by bullocks. The two Seasons nearest the deceased are clad in costumes appropriate to their rôles as symbolic of Winter. A section of the right front of another sarcophagus with the Four Seasons (Fig. 237) was carved about A.D. 280, and the breakup of classical form is evident in the large, upturned faces and elongated bodies of the two winged Seasonal Genii who originally flanked the figure of the deceased in the centre. Within a few decades Constantine the Great was to inaugurate the Christian phase of the Empire and found his new capital at Constantinople or Byzantium.

In Asia Minor in Roman times, Greek art judged by older standards underwent many transformations, although classical canons persisted amid the iconographic and spiritual changes evident in many major and minor works of art. In a small equestrian statue from Northwest Anatolia (Fig. 238), Zeus appears with attributes of the Phrygian gods Sabázios and Mén: Asiatic costume, torch, altar, and bovine head beneath the horse's hoof. The group was evidently made to be set up in the apsidal niche of a shrine. Zeus's features are Hellenistic in concept, but his transfigured gaze is late classical, suggesting a date between A.D. 150 and 250 for the work.<sup>1</sup> From Myangla in Lycia (Southwest Turkey) comes a large silver plaque with a bust of Zeus, the head presented in a provincial style which is proto-Byzantine in its hieratic qualities (Fig. 239). The inscription records that a group of local citizens commissioned the goldsmith Gaios to make the plaque in A.D. 70 or 180, depending on which of two systems of dating the people of Myangla used to record important events.<sup>2</sup>

1. Published in full in *MFA Bulletin* lvi, Summer 1958, pp. 69-76.

2. P. Jacobsthal, A. H. M. Jones, "A Silver Find from South-West Asia Minor," *Journal of Roman Studies* xxx, 1940, pp. 16-31.



One of the most interesting groups of sculpture from the Roman provinces comes from Palmyra. This city, situated at the junction of two flourishing trade routes in the Syrian desert, became a great commercial centre during the early empire and played an important part as an outpost of Roman power during the Parthian wars of the third century after Christ. After the death of its ruler Odenathus in A.D. 266, his widow Zenobia attempted to establish an independent empire, but in A.D. 272 the Emperor Aurelian captured and destroyed the city and sent the queen and her son as captives to Rome. Of the eleven fragmentary gravestones from the necropolis of Palmyra in the Museum collection, the best is the remarkably preserved monument of a certain Attai, or "Aththaiia, daughter of Malchos," as the Greek inscription records her name (Fig. 240). In the rendering of the portrait-head, the effective folds of the drapery, and the wealth of jewelry, the skill of the best Palmyrene sculptors stands clearly revealed. The remarkable preservation of the white limestone adds greatly to the appeal of this monument of the second half of the second century after Christ.

The bronzes of the Roman period continue the tradition of earlier times, but rarely exhibit the careful workmanship of the best Greek ateliers. A characteristic example is a statuette of Herakles (Fig. 241), over three feet in height. This type of the hero, with his right hand extended in a gesture of welcome, can be traced back to the fourth century B.C., but the superficial treatment of the beard and the awkward arrangement of the lion's skin suggest a none-too-skillful sculptor of the Roman age. These points, combined with the heavy, somewhat inarticulate forms of the body, date the statue in the late second or third centuries A.D.

Much better in workmanship is a small Athena (Fig. 242). She has many of the characteristics of fifth century art, with her large aegis and simple folds of drapery, but the finding place, on the site of an ancient temple near Ettringen on the Rhine, suggests a date in the second century after Christ.

A statuette of Jupiter or Zeus, formerly seated on a throne and with thunderbolt or *fulmen* held in the right hand and sceptre (now missing) in the raised left, gives us a glimpse of the appearance of the mighty cult statue in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome (Fig. 243). The Roman cult image was a late Hellenistic version of Greek temple statues going back to the Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia. The temple burned down in A.D. 69 and again in A.D. 80, and so from the first rebuilding (of the late Archaic Etruscan temple) under Sulla ca. 80 B.C., there were three successive images, none of which have survived. The bronze statuette probably copies the image of the temple rebuilt under Domitian (A.D. 81-96).

In the Mercury (Fig. 244) it is the attribute — a purse in the right hand — which points to the Roman period. The Roman Mercury was identified with the Greek Hermes and represented, like him, with wings on the head or at the ankles, but the purse is definitely an attribute of the Roman rather than the Greek god. The object

which was held in the left hand was probably the caduceus or herald's staff.<sup>2a</sup>

A well-preserved figure of Isis (Fig. 245) is also probably of Roman date. This Egyptian goddess was worshipped in many parts of the empire, and the statuette conforms in all respects to the established type, with long undergarment and heavy, fringed mantle fastened in the so-called "Isiac knot," and on her head, the solar disc with a uraeus serpent, between horns and feathers. The pitcher, which the goddess commonly holds in her left hand, is lost, but the right hand still clasps the handle of the *sistrum*, or rattle, which is a regular attribute of the goddess.

In the field of semi-functional bronzes the Romans united Hellenistic technique with the Etruscan and Italian love of combining self-contained beauty and practical purpose. This fusion of tastes spread throughout the Empire. The bust of Artemis, quiver on her right shoulder and hair arranged in the elaborate fashion of the Hellenistic rococo, is intensely decorative (Fig. 246). Only when we realize the base of the bust was weighted with a fixed amount of lead and a hook was passed through the topknot do we see the bronze served the function of a steelyard weight or balance.

The Romans followed their Etruscan forebears in exploiting the decorative possibilities of the working parts of chariots or heavier carts. An elaborately conceived bronze group translates the grandiose theme of the struggle between the gods and the giants into a support or guide for the reins of the chariot (Fig. 247). One griffin-loop and the giant supported by it, as well as one of the divinities in the besieged fortress of Olympus, are missing, but Apollo or Helios (headless) repels a young giant who has climbed on the griffin's head toward the battlements. An older giant serves as support below. Apollo's sister Artemis or Selene, the veil of the heavens billowing out above her shoulders, uses her torch to fend him off. The theme and its treatment go back to the Hellenistic school of Pergamon in the second century B.C., but the Late Antique form of the city walls indicates the bronze is no earlier than the second century A.D.

Thanks to the quality of ancient production, the energy and accuracy of post-Renaissance artists, and the accidental burial of Pompeii and Herculaneum in A.D. 79, we have a much more comprehensive picture of Roman wall painting than we do of Greek, although the dependence of the former on the latter, particularly in mythological compositions, can be fairly well documented. From the north wall of the peristyle of a villa at the port of Pompeii comes the fresco illustrated here (Fig. 248), one of a group of eleven in the collections from the same building. The lower portion of the panel (one of a set of five) has a ground of deep red within an architectural frame. The vertical and horizontal bands applied over the ground color are green; in the centre, a gold candelabrum shows against the white ground above, the latter simulating a "window" in the wall and revealing an airy structure beyond. The painting belongs

2a. Recent study of this bronze has led to the suspicion that it is a late Renaissance or nineteenth-century work in the Roman style.

to the Pompeiian style of decoration popular in the last decade of the city's existence, the Flavian period throughout the Empire. By these years the Romans had exploited all the architectural possibilities of painted wall decoration and were turning to delicate caprices such as the foliate candelabrum shown here and even impressionism in figured compositions. After the Flavian period we have to depend more on mosaics for our knowledge of Roman painting, although Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and various tombs have yielded examples which provide continuity into the early Middle Ages.

Painting among the Greeks, and especially the Romans, is represented not only by wall frescoes but also, as indicated, by floor and wall mosaics. The tradition of mosaic work in the Greek world was an old one, with examples going back to the fifth century B.C. The Hellenistic Greeks and the Romans, however, exploited the coloristic and illusionistic possibilities of the mosaic in a number of architectural settings. Great masterpieces of painting, such as the scene of Alexander riding toward the chariot of Darius, were preserved in early imperial mosaics at Pompeii. Roman baths were decorated with colored and black and white (or bichrome) mosaics, the latter being particularly effective when seen under the shallow, shimmering water of a pool. By the early fourth century A.D., great *tours de force* of mosaic work were produced, such as the mythological, hunting and genre scenes in the imperial villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily.

A section of mosaic in the collections, work of the fourth or fifth centuries A.D., illustrates the genius of late Roman floor decoration expressed in an unusual, even humorous, subject (Fig. 249). The mosaic comes from Tunisia and probably formed the centrepiece of a temple or shrine. The figures can be termed lifesize. The colors of the small tesserae are rich, varying from black to golden yellow. In a landscaped setting, a she-ass nibbles tall grasses and nurses two lion cubs, who leap up for their refreshments. This unique scene is a Bacchic parody of the *Lupa Romana*, the she-wolf suckling Romulus and his twin brother Remus. The parody has significance for those versed in the iconography of Bacchic mythology, for the ass is the ass of Silenus and the lion cubs are those of Bacchus and Ariadne.

Since this mosaic dates from the period when Christianity was gaining the ascendancy over paganism, perhaps its makers were using symbolism of a less than obvious kind to convey their presumably pagan message. Several important schools of mosaicists flourished in North Africa in Late Antiquity. The artists responsible for this mosaic are related to those who made the splendid mosaic floors of the Great Palace of the Emperors in Constantinople.

During the Roman period very little painted pottery was produced. The Roman vases developed from the late Greek relief wares (see p. 169). One interesting group is the so-called enamel-glaze ware, which apparently was invented in Syria in the first century B.C., and later imitated in widely separated districts. Characteristic of this group is the use of a metallic lead glaze, usually greenish in tone, in place of the

normal red or black glaze of the "Megarian" vases. Figure 250 represents a typical example — a mould-made bowl, on which the principal decoration consists of sprays of grapevine, with large leaves and bunches of grapes. But among the sprays other elements are introduced — three Cupids, numerous small dolphins and, as a central figure on one side, a prancing centaur waving in his right hand a large ivy leaf. In all this the purely decorative tradition of the late Greek relief ware is continued.

The most important class among vases of the Roman period is the so-called Arretine ware, which takes its name from Arretium (the modern Arezzo in Tuscany), one of the twelve cities of the old Etruscan league. The flourishing period of the Arretine production was the age of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14), and the potteries continued to be active until the later years of the first century after Christ, when their products were driven out of the market by cheaper wares made in Gaul. The popularity of the Arretine pottery is proved by the fact that vases and fragments have been found in distant regions of the Roman world and by the many remains of potteries discovered in Arezzo and its neighborhood. Thanks to these discoveries, the processes of manufacture can be exactly determined.

The Arretine vases are of three sorts: 1) plain wares of many different shapes; 2) vases decorated with appliqué reliefs, separately made from moulds and attached before firing; and 3) bowl-shaped vases made in moulds, usually with separately formed bases and rims (Fig. 251).

As indicated, the method of manufacture can be clearly determined from the preserved vases and moulds. The potter had, first of all, a number of puncheons or stamps which carried figures or parts of figures, or decorative patterns in relief (Fig. 252). He first threw a mould of clay on the wheel and used the puncheons to impress the design on the inside. After the mould had been fired, bodies for vases could be turned out in quantity by lining the mould with clay (Fig. 253). The natural shrinkage of the shell would make it possible to remove it from the mould in "leather-hard" condition. Foot and lip and, sometimes, handles were then added, and the vase was ready for glazing and firing. Some early examples were glazed black like many of the Greek prototypes, but the Arretine potters early contrived a fine coralline red glaze which is one of the most attractive qualities of the developed ware.

Among the interesting features of the Arretine products is the fact that many of the vases are signed, not only by the proprietor of the factory, but also by the slave who actually made the mould. From these signatures it appears that many of the proprietors were freedmen of Greek origin, and many of the slaves have Greek names; and the decoration, in general, was inspired by Greek models. The figures are often purely decorative, but there are some mythological subjects. A unique mould in the Museum collection is decorated with the adventure of Phaethon (Fig. 254). Another mould presents the story of Herakles and Omphale (Fig. 255). Each rides in a chariot drawn by Centaurs; Omphale wears the lion-skin of Herakles and carries his club,



while Herakles is dressed as a woman. Scenes from daily life include dances, banquets, and hunting scenes. One large group is decorated with naturalistic garlands combined with birds, bees, lizards, and other animals. In all the designs there are many analogies with later Greek vases in silver, so that there is much to be said for the theory that the potters drew their inspiration from such works in precious metal, and sometimes, perhaps, actually made their puncheons from impressions of figures and ornaments on the more costly wares.

The Arretine wares began to be imitated by potters in Gaul during the first half of the first century after Christ and it was apparently the cheaper Gallic products that brought about the decline of the Arretine factories. Somewhat later, similar wares were produced at several centres in Germany and in Britain. All these "provincial" wares resemble the Arretine, but are more careless in execution.

In gems the Roman age, with the development of great wealth and the consequent love of luxury, was a highly productive period. Though the artists rarely attained the perfection of the best Greek engravers, their performance remained at a high level throughout the first century and well into the second century after Christ. The virtuosity revealed in the garnet carved to represent the head of Sirius (Fig. 256), is great; the dog's muzzle, because of the thinness of the cutting, looks pale and moist. On the collar is the name of the artist, "Caius made." Since the inscription is in Greek letters, it is probable that Caius, in spite of his Roman name, was a Greek.

Portraits, as might be expected from the development of sculpture, are numerous. A sard intaglio set in a gold ring is carved with an excellent likeness of Julius Caesar (Fig. 257). An amethyst, with a bust of the bearded Lucius Verus, joint emperor with Marcus Aurelius from A.D. 161 to 169 (Fig. 258), exhibits the same skill that appears in the marble portrait busts.

Cameos also were popular, not only for rings, but also for various decorative purposes. Among the larger examples is a stone in the collection which measures over three inches in length (Fig. 259), with Victory driving her chariot over the waves and a small Cupid flying to crown her with a wreath. The skillful use of the brown and white layers of the sardonyx is in the best tradition of cameo cutting.

The same skill is apparent in the famous "Marlborough gem" (Fig. 260), which takes its name from the fact that it was for a time in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough. The subject is the mystic marriage of Cupid and Psyche. All the figures are represented as children. Cupid, pressing a dove to his breast, walks beside Psyche, who is identified by her butterfly wings. Both bride and bridegroom are veiled. They are led by Hymen, with his torch, while Anteros holds the mystic winnowing fan or *vannus* over their heads. At the right a fifth winged figure prepares the bridal couch. The gem is signed by Tryphon.

Among the portraits the most remarkable is a green turquoise with the Empress Livia and the young Tiberius carved in high relief (Fig. 261). A sardonyx in the more

usual low relief (Fig. 262) shows, in the highly individual head, the same skill that is found in the marble portraits of the first century after Christ. The portrait may be that of Drusus the son of Tiberius (died A.D. 23), as he appears on coins struck under his father.

The development of coinage in Italy presents an interesting contrast to the development in Greek lands. In Italy for many years bronze was the medium of exchange, and although gold and silver coins from the Greek cities in South Italy and Sicily must have been in circulation in the Italian towns and although some of the Etruscan cities struck coins in the precious metals as early as the fifth century, in Rome itself the first issue of coins was in large pieces of cast bronze, the so-called *aes grave*. The exact date of the first issue is unknown, but it was probably about 338 B.C. These "heavy bronze" coins were issued in six denominations, running from the *as*, which originally weighed one pound (Fig. 263), down to the *uncia*, or ounce, one-twelfth of the pound. It is, perhaps, characteristic of the Roman orderliness of mind that each denomination carried the head of a different divinity and each had a mark of value: the *as* was marked with a I, the *semis*, or half-pound, with an S, the smaller coins with the number of ounces ( . . . for the *triens* or third, etc.). The heavy weights were not long maintained. When the first silver was issued in 268 B.C., the weight of the *as* had fallen to two ounces, and the bronze coins had come to be struck, not cast. In 217 B.C., the weight was reduced to one ounce, and in 89 B.C. to one-half ounce.

The earliest silver coins were issued in three denominations: the denarius with a mark of X, equivalent to ten asses; the quinarius, or five *as* piece, marked V; and the sestertius of two and one-half asses, marked I I S, from which it is possible that the dollar sign is derived. The types for some years were the same for all issues — on the obverse, the head of the goddess Roma, and on the reverse the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, and the inscription ROMA (Fig. 264). About 240 B.C. the first coins with initials or monograms or minor devices added by the magistrates responsible for the coinage were struck. The most important magistrates were a board of three, officially called *tresviri aere argento auro flando feriundo*, "board of three for casting and striking bronze, silver, and gold," but quaestors and other officials were sometimes authorized by the Senate to issue coins for special occasions, and military commanders had the right to strike money for the payment of their troops. Early in the second century new types sometimes replaced the Dioscuri on the reverse, and from about 134 B.C. types that have reference to the money magistrates came more and more to be used, at first on the reverse, later on both obverse and reverse. These types sometimes contain a punning reference to the name of the moneyer, as when one or another of the Muses appears on coins of the moneyer Q. Pomponius Musa; more often they have reference to some deed of an ancestor; occasionally they record a contemporary event. A good example is a denarius with the magistrate's name M SERGI(us) SILVS (Fig. 265). The obverse shows the usual head of Roma, but with the

addition EX·S·C· (*ex Senatus consulto*) which shows that this was a special issue, and the Q on the reverse identifies the issuing magistrate as a quaestor. The reverse type is a horseman who holds a sword and the head of a Gaul in his left hand. Fortunately Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vii. 104-106) has preserved the story of this ancestor, who was the great-grandfather of Catiline. Although he had been wounded twenty-three times and had lost his right hand, he continued in military service, fighting with his left hand. He had a right hand of iron made, and after this "raised the siege of Cremona, defended Placentia, and took twelve of the enemy's camps in Gaul."

During the time of the republic gold coins were struck only in times of crisis, but Roman generals in the field sometimes issued gold as well as silver and bronze coins to pay their troops. The right of coinage was included in the military *imperium*. During the early years of the first century B.C. large quantities of both gold and silver coins were issued by Sulla and other generals. The *imperium* had legally to be surrendered when a general entered the gates of Rome, but when Julius Caesar arrived in Rome in 49 B.C. he disregarded the law, and issued both gold and silver in the city itself. He thus began the great series of Roman gold coins, which are characteristic of the Roman empire; and an obsequious Senate not only conferred on him the exclusive right to coin gold, but also ordered that his portrait be stamped on the coinage. The denarius (Fig. 266), with inscription of the money magistrate L. Flaminus Chilo, was issued in 43 B.C. just after the assassination of Caesar. It has his laureate head on the obverse, with the usual inscription CAESAR IMP(erator) P(ontifex) M(aximus) omitted as a sign of mourning, and on the reverse Venus Victrix, with reference to Caesar's claim to be descended from the goddess Venus.

The Romans were very conscious of history and its commemoration on their coins. A century and a half after the death of Julius Caesar, the emperor Trajan struck a small number of gold aurei in memory of the deified dictator (Fig. 267). Caesar's portrait on the obverse is identified by the inscription DIVVS IVLIVS, and on the reverse Pax-Nemesis (perhaps an allusion to Caesar's activities and untimely end) is surrounded by the name and titles of Trajan, who states he has "restored" the coinage of Caesar. Busts and statues of Caesar continued to be made long after his death, and the Hadrianic head of Augustus discussed with the portraits in marble and bronze (Fig. 215b) is another example of these traditions of posthumous portraiture.

In the confusion of the years after Caesar's death, many of the leaders of the contending factions issued money. Augustus, after his power was securely established, included the reorganization of the mint among his many reforms. He reserved to himself the right of striking gold and silver, and conferred upon the Senate the exclusive privilege of minting bronze and copper, an arrangement which remained unchanged for three centuries. Coins in the baser metals soon began to be distinguished by the letters S C, that is *senatus consulto*, "by decree of the senate."

The general scheme of types for all three metals was also established in the

Augustan age. Though there are many variations, the obverse type was normally a portrait of the Emperor, with his name and some of his titles, or a portrait of some member of the imperial family. The reverse types are very varied. Especial favorites are representations of abstract divinities — Abundantia, Concordia, Fortuna, Pax, Virtus — often identified by inscriptions and frequently associated with the Emperor or the imperial family, as *Concordia Augustorum*, *Fortuna Augusti*. More interesting are representations of buildings, sometimes with explanatory inscriptions, as when a series of bronze coins of Nero shows the temple of Janus with the inscription PACE P(opuli) R(omani) TERRA MARIQ(ue) PARTA IANVM CLVSIT. Triumphal arches are often pictured with a wealth of detail, as on a sestertius of Nero (Fig. 268). The obverse inscription of this coin illustrates the elaborate titulature which gradually developed after the time of Augustus: it runs, NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG(ustus) GERM(anicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunica) P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater) P(atriciae).

These coins of the Imperial period can often be dated with exactness. Normally the tribunician power was conferred upon the Emperor every year and the TRP of the inscription is usually followed by a number. Since the regnal years of the emperors are known, the number of the tribunician power indicates the year exactly. During the second century the inscriptions tended to increase in length. The reign of Trajan witnessed several interesting innovations; especially noteworthy is a form intended to suggest the gratitude of the Romans for the successful war against the Dacians. It runs, with some variations: *obverse*, IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) NERVAE TRAIANO AVG(usto) GER(manico) DAC(ico) P(ontifici) M(aximo) T(ribunica) P(otestate) CO(n)S(uli) V(ictor) P(ater) P(atriciae); *reverse*, S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

It is usually said that Roman coins lack the artistic beauty and freedom of their Greek counterparts of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The die designers of the first two centuries of the Empire were called upon to produce a worldwide coinage, and it is amazing that they maintained such high standards of portraiture and reverse types under a multitude of pressures. Imperial coins were conscious instruments of propaganda, and emperors such as Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) issued over a hundred coin types in all metals in a single year. On special occasions limited issues of coins were struck with designs which surpassed the ordinary series in artistry and precision of execution, without departing from the basic formulae of imperial portrait and titles on the obverse and glorification of the emperor, the gods, the state, or specific ceremonies on the reverse. The interest of the regular coins for the historian and archaeologist remains constant in the series, particularly in the third and fourth centuries A.D., where inflation and military necessity robbed the coinage of much of its artistic merit.

From the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) through the sixth century A.D., the Ro-



man imperial mints issued a special series in all metals which numismatists call "medallions." Medallions are both multiples of the regular denominations and commemorative pieces bearing no fixed relationship to the gold, silver and bronze coinages. Medallions were given by the emperors to loyal subjects and in late antiquity were a convenient means of paying the tributes of bullion leveled by barbarian rulers on Rome in times of pressure on the frontiers. The special nature of medallions meant that they invariably surpass the regular coins in artistic quality. The ancients prized them as works of art and small, portable museums of cult images, Greek statuary, and famous mythological scenes.

Some of the most ambitious medallions belong to the dark periods of the third century. A gilt silver 10-denarius piece of Philip the Arab (A.D. 244-249) was probably struck in the last months of the emperor's reign, for the millennium of the founding of Rome. Philip appears laureate and cuirassed on the obverse (Fig. 269), and the treatment of hair and beard in a series of incised lines parallels with minute precision his lifesize portrait busts in marble. On the obverse of a gold double aureus of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305), the hieratic and conceptual approach to portraiture that plays such an important part in Roman art from Constantine the Great onwards begins to become apparent (Fig. 270). The emperor wears embroidered consular robes and holds emblems of office. The stiffness of head and bust, the former treated in a cubistic fashion, make him seem less a person, more the inaccessible symbol he sought to turn the emperor into through elaborate court ceremonial and administrative hierarchy.

These qualities of portraiture are accentuated to an even greater degree in two gold quadruple aurei of Diocletian's colleague Maximianus (Figs. 271, 272). These large gold pieces were struck late in A.D. 306, during the period when Maximianus and his son Maxentius dominated the western half of the Roman Empire. One medallion, with Hercules (Herakles) on the reverse, was struck at Rome, and the second, showing Mars as protector of the imperial household, bears the mintmark of Carthage. Maximianus, styled "Herculeus," wears the Nemean lion-skin of his divine patron, last example in ancient art of a tradition going back to Alexander the Great's tetradrachms. On the first reverse Hercules is hailed as the companion (*comes*) of the imperial family. The types of Hercules and Mars seen here are "Late-Antique Baroque" renderings of reverses with long traditions in the imperial coinage. Their bold modelling and forceful articulation, one standing in repose and one walking, parallel the figures in the contemporary mosaics at Piazza Armerina in Sicily. These two medallions form part of a large hoard found in the Mediterranean in recent years and scattered between several museums and private collections.<sup>3</sup>

3. See R. A. G. Carson's preliminary publication of the hoard in *Illustrated London News*, 14 Nov. 1959, p. 650 f.

In a silver *miliarensis*, the largest silver coin of Constans (A.D. 337-350), son of Constantine the Great, the portrait which we might call Byzantine emerges (Fig. 273). The emperor, no longer merely "first among equals," now wears the diadem of kingship, and the large eyes, flattened face and shoulders, and linear presentation of details are characteristic of other representations of the human figure in the last century of the Western Roman Empire.

In the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ groups in the city of Rome struck numbers of *contorniates* or *jetons*. *Contorniates*, invariably in bronze and much larger in size than contemporary coins, were evidently used for admission to the games and circuses, as gaming tokens, and as souvenirs of semi-public events. Many of them appear to have been made as instruments of propaganda by the great pagan families seeking to preserve the old religion by advertising the virtues of the Roman past. Two *contorniates* from the collection illustrate their range of subjects. One shows the romantic survival of the Alexander legend in late antiquity (Fig. 274). Alexander "the Great" (described as such on other *contorniates* in the series) wears the Herculean lion's skin, a portrait derived from the heads on his coins or from a statue (compare Figs. 145, 146). The reverse, with four chariots racing in the Circus Maximus, alludes to the connection of *contorniates* with the factions who supported this sport so avidly in the later Empire. The second *contorniate* is more literary in its message (Fig. 275). The obverse presents a fourth-century likeness of the writer Sallust (86-35 B.C.), and the reverse shows three musicians, the piper in the centre being named Petronius. No doubt the trio was one popular in café society of their day. The inscription reads "Petronius, may you please!"

The terracotta figurines of the Roman age carry on the tradition of Hellenistic terracottas, but are usually more crudely modelled and colored. Greater interest attaches to the so-called "Campana" reliefs, which are slabs of terracotta measuring, on an average, eighteen inches long, nine inches high, and one or two inches thick. These were used for decoration in houses; sometimes several were set side by side to form a frieze, sometimes they appear to have been used as single panels. Many are pierced with holes for the pins or nails by which they were fastened to the wall. They were regularly made in moulds, and carefully executed. The time of their greatest popularity was the age of Augustus, and they reflect the spirit of the Augustan time in their subjects, which are drawn from Greek tradition. However, they were made throughout the Julio-Claudian, Flavian and Trajanic periods, and a number have been found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.

Figure 276 shows typical examples, one with two satyrs treading out grapes, flanked by a dancing satyr playing the flute and a satyr bringing a basket of grapes. On the other is the façade of a building in the Corinthian style, no doubt a gymnasium, with five statues on bases between the columns: in the centre a large Herakles; at the left two boxers; and at the right an athlete cleaning a strigil and a victorious

athlete holding a palm. In the gable above are two Tritons who hold a decorated shield between them. The statues are obviously copied from Greek types and illustrate once again the strong influence of Greek models in the art of the Augustan and later ages. The statues of athletes, as well as the Herakles, in this "gymnasium" plaque reflect the style of Lysippos.

The tradition of the gold and ivory statues of Pheidias carried into late antiquity on a modest scale in the bone carvings called Alexandrian because so many come from this Graeco-Roman centre in Egypt. The usual subjects were lesser divinities, satyrs, maenads, Nereids or Erotes in elaborate foliage. Some rectangular plaques were set in wooden cabinets, caskets or tables. Semicircular carvings were applied to areas such as the corners of cabinets or the legs of decorative furniture. Two of the latter were part of a set of four or more with the same subject repeated in pairs. A fat, elderly man is Socrates, as Graeco-Roman art of the second or third century A.D. interpreted his literary image in Plato's *Dialogues* or the representational tradition of a statue, probably by Lysippos, which stood in Alexandria (Fig. 277). This ivory likeness of Socrates can be compared with the marble head of the philosopher, discussed in the section on Hellenistic portraiture (see pp. 167 f.).

The pendant carving presents a lady of distinguished appearance, who holds the wreath of the symposium or the dance (Fig. 278). She is without doubt Pericles's consort Aspasia, who was a worthy foil in all respects for Socrates in Athenian intellectual circles of the late fifth century B.C. and who is paired with him in several reliefs of the late Hellenistic or Roman periods.<sup>4</sup>

The large collection of glass vessels consists for the most part of products of the Graeco-Roman and Roman periods. Pliny (*N.H.* 36, 191) ascribes the invention of glass to the Phoenicians and tells a story of its accidental discovery by stranded sailors who built a fire on the sandy shore of the river Belus to prepare a meal and, not finding stones at hand, placed lumps of saltpeter from the cargo of their boat under their cooking pot. The action of the heat fused the saltpeter and sand into glass. In spite of its improbability, this account was believed throughout antiquity, and until recent times the Phoenician fabric was regarded as the oldest and most celebrated class of ancient glass. Modern investigations in Phoenicia, however, have revealed no traces of glass manufacture earlier than the fifth century B.C. and glass vessels of much earlier date have been found in Egypt.

All such early wares were laboriously made by hand over a core of clay, which was later broken up and removed. The first great advance was made in the first century B.C. with the invention in Syria or Phoenicia of the blowpipe. After this the glass industry rapidly expanded; from its first important centre at Alexandria it spread throughout the Roman Empire to the east and west along the shores of the Mediterranean, and northward to Germany, Gaul, and Britain. Beyond the Eastern

4. Both carvings are published in detail in *The Classical Journal* 54, 1958, pp. 49-55.

frontier, the industry reached modern Afghanistan (Begram) and was probably carried farther, down into India. Increased facility of production so much reduced the cost of the finished article that glass vessels to a great extent replaced clay vases for daily household and toilet uses. Clear glass, as well as richly opaque and translucent glass, was employed in the new process in making dishes and vases of infinitely varied shape and often of large size (Fig. 279). From the first century B.C. jugs, bottles, cups, tumblers, bowls, and other vessels with more or less elaborate relief decoration were formed by blowing glass into moulds; neck, foot, and handles were added by hand (Fig. 280).

Among the most striking products of the ancient workers in glass are the vases called *millefiori*, "a thousand flowers," a name given to this ware by the Venetians of the Renaissance (Fig. 281). The process of manufacture can be seen in a large fragment (Fig. 282). Slender stalks of glass of various colors arranged in a pattern were fused together, or thin plates of glass were dipped into molten glass of different colors and then rolled into a rod; then transverse or longitudinal sections cut from these rods and repeating the same design were set into a mould and united by the action of heat.

Still another development during the Graeco-Roman period was the use of glass pastes to make copies of engraved gems. The cameo technique was also imitated both for gems and vases. The most celebrated example of this ware is the Portland Vase in the British Museum, for which a layer of opaque white was applied over dark blue glass, and the design was made to stand out in relief by cutting through the outer layer. A small fragment of an inlay (Fig. 283) is a good example of this difficult technique; the subject is one of the labors of Herakles, who has just let fly an arrow at the Keryneian hind.

Finally, perhaps the most attractive feature of much ancient glass is not due to the skill of the makers, but to chance. Most of the vases have been found in tombs, where they were deposited as offerings to the dead. The beautiful iridescence which they now have is due to the decay of the surface caused by long exposure to dampness.



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213. Terracotta portrait head; late Republican (01.8008)
214. Fragmentary relief of a reclining man, perhaps Horace (00.311)
215. Two portraits of Augustus (06.1873, 99.344)
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217. Statue of a Roman emperor in armor; probably the Emperor Domitian, A.D. 81-96 (99.346)
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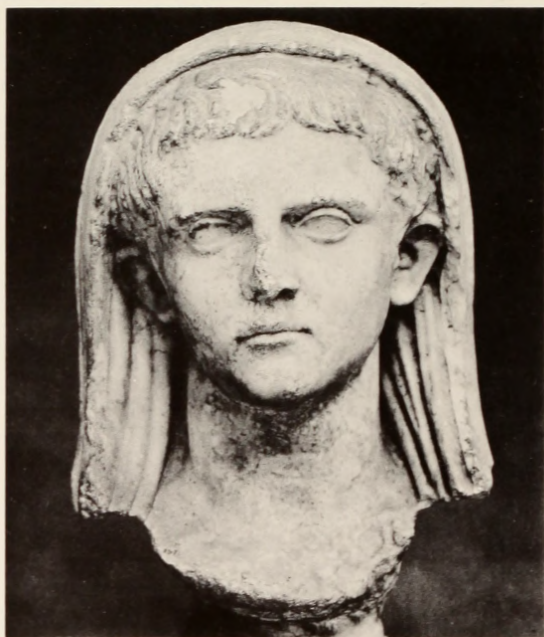


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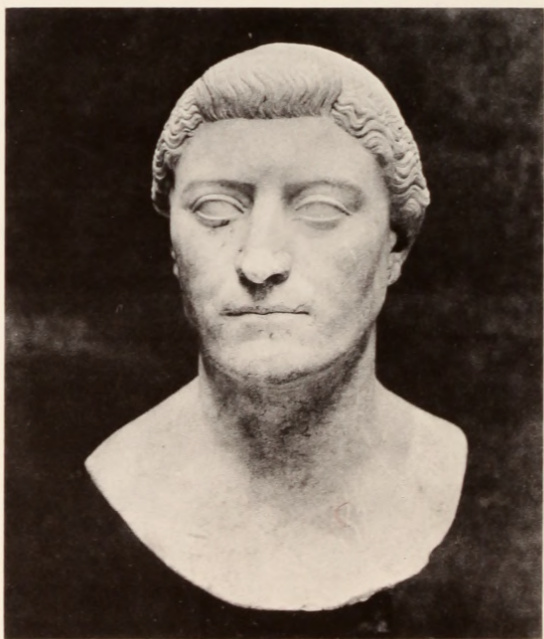
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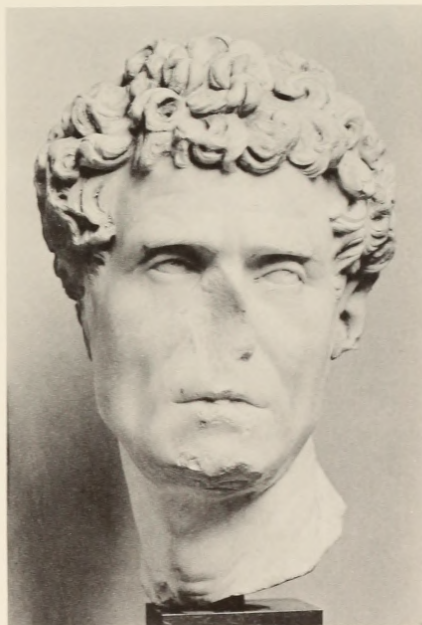




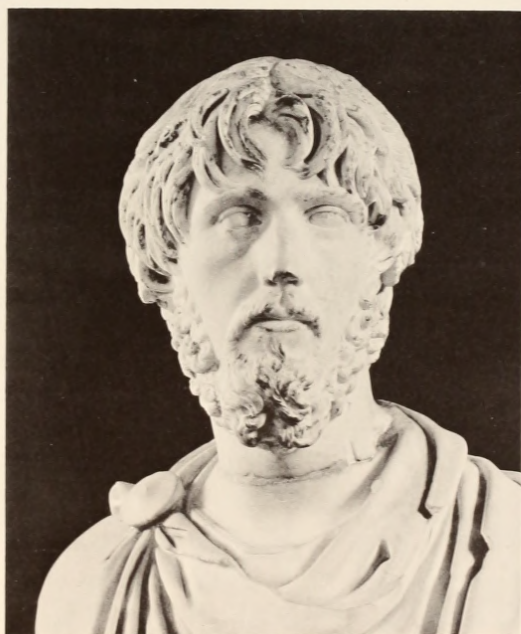


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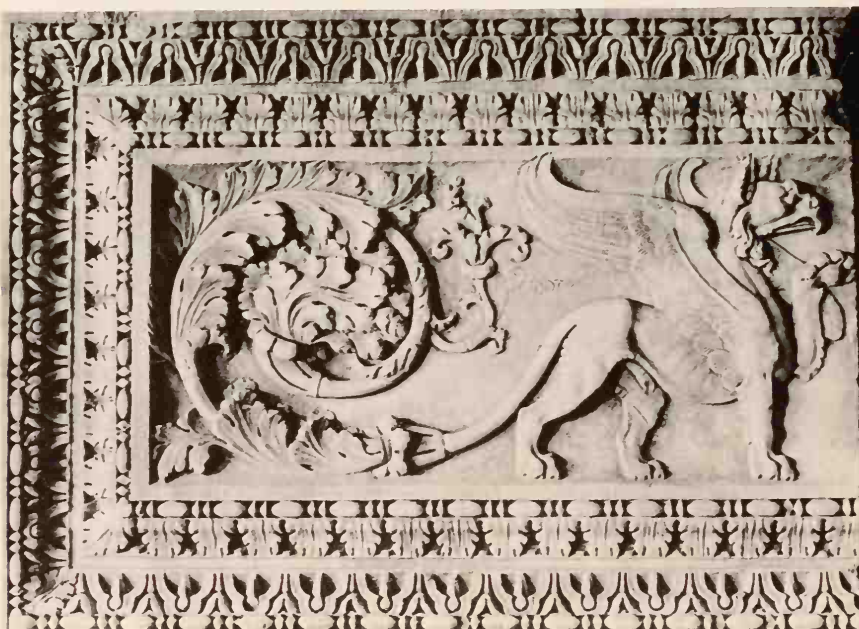


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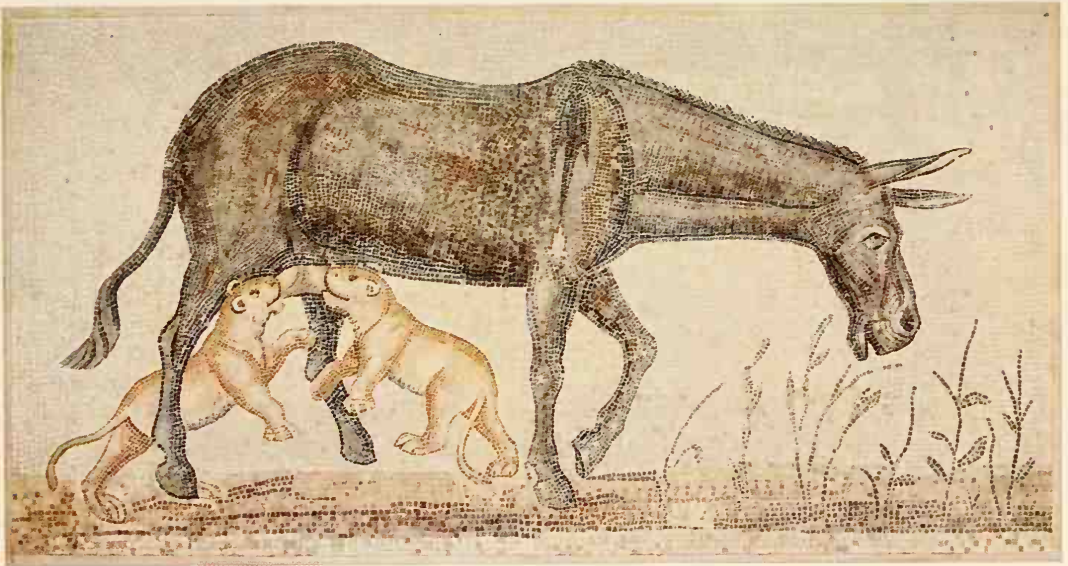
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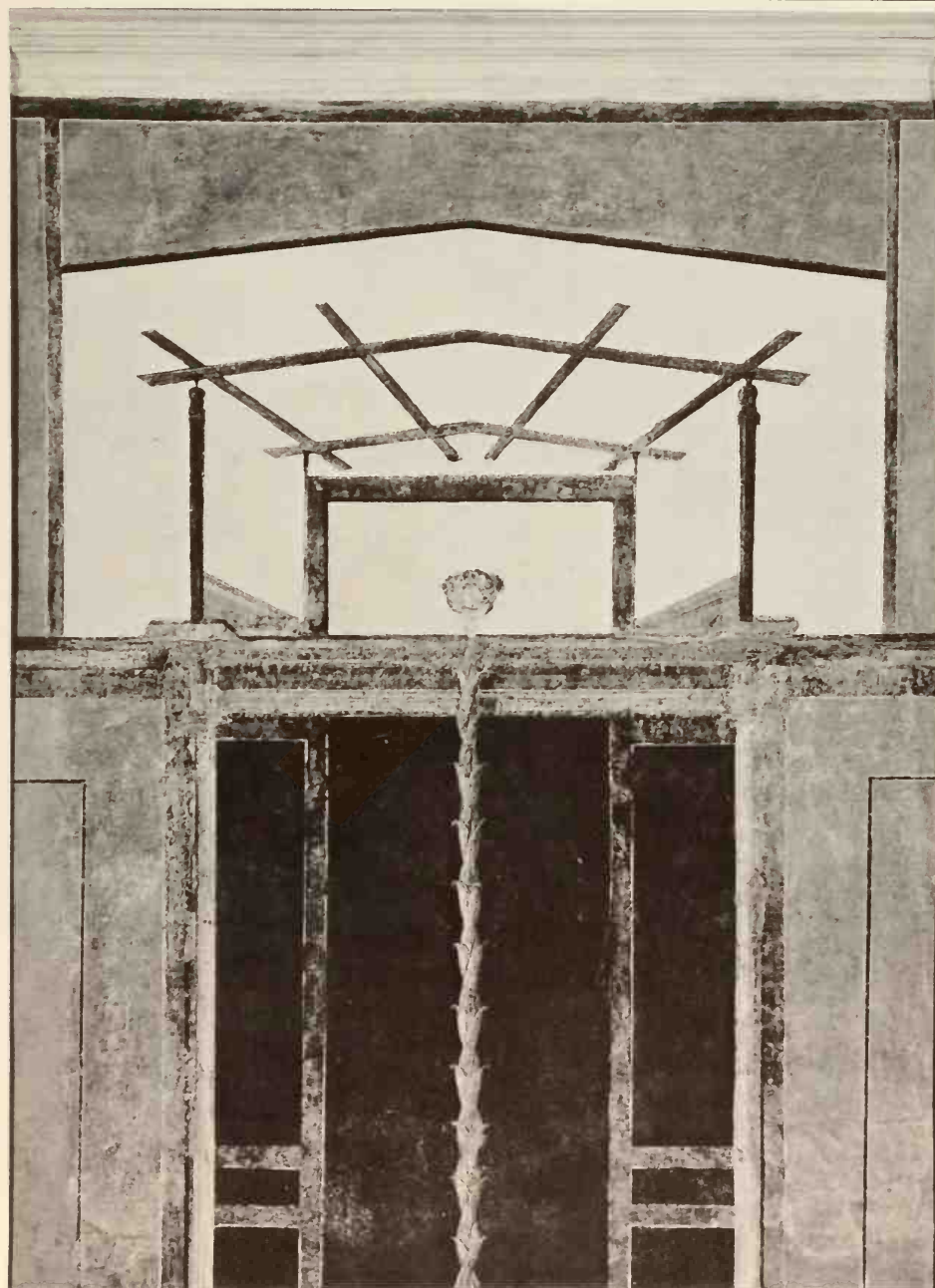
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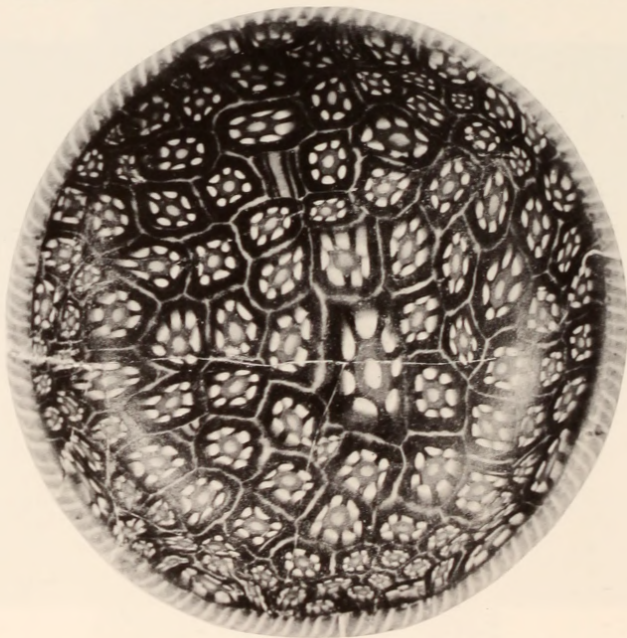
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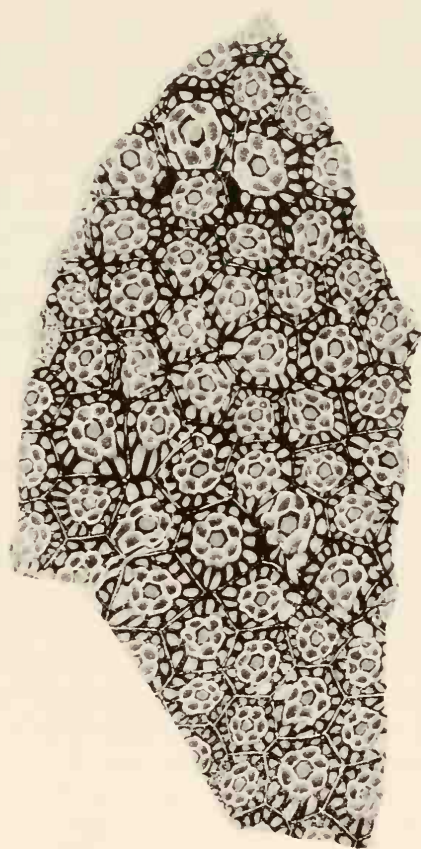


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# Greek and Roman Textiles

THE patterned garments and hangings shown in Greek vase paintings stand as mute and tantalizing evidence of the use of elaborate textiles in the Hellenic world long before the date to which any known surviving Greek textile can be attributed. The earliest classical textiles known to exist are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum at London. They are fragments of woven linen which were said to have been found in a bronze kalpis, or water jug, at Koropoi, near Athens. Five of these fragments show quite clearly a series of needle holes delineating a small scale lozenge trellis and in the centre of each lozenge a tiny lion with uplifted tail and forepaw. The gilded yarns used for the embroidery have since disappeared. This fabric, believed to have been made in Greece during the late fifth or early fourth century B.C., is the first — and to date the only — textile from classical antiquity ever to have been found in Greece. A small group of tapestry-woven, embroidered or painted woolen fabrics in the Greek style were found approximately a hundred years ago in a series of Greek tombs, attributed to the fourth to third centuries B.C., at Kertch in the Crimea. The patterns show animals, plants and human figures. Apart from these few examples, the only known surviving late Hellenistic textiles which probably antedate pieces in our own collection are the fragments of wool, linen and silk weaving, the embroideries and pile and knitted fabrics found at Dura-Europos (before A.D. 256) and at Palmyra (before A.D. 273), both in Syria.

None of the early textiles from the Eastern Mediterranean world — the so-called "Coptic" textiles — in this Museum may be dated as early as the foregoing examples with any degree of certainty. Despite attempts to place these fabrics in time by comparing their patterns to relatively firmly dated paintings, mosaics, ivories and metal objects, it is generally agreed at present that the vast majority of them were made roughly between the fourth and tenth centuries of our era. Invariably they come from burying grounds or rubbish heaps in Egypt where physical conditions favored their preservation; but it is reasonable to assume, particularly in view of the Syrian finds, that similar textiles were produced also in other parts of the world affected by Graeco-Roman culture.

Our late classical textiles fall into two major classes. First, and by far the most common, are the wool and linen, or occasionally all woolen, woven fabrics. The

majority of these are tapestry-woven, but a fair number show patterns in woolen pile wefts on plain grounds and there are also a few embroideries and examples of early drawloom-woven woolen textiles. Most of these pieces were used as ornaments on tunics or on the large rectangular mantles (the *pallium*), made for use during life or possibly occasionally as burial shrouds. There are complete tunics and *pallia* in the collection as well. Other tapestry fragments, and many of the pile fabrics, appear to have been taken from curtains or hangings. The patterns show purely geometric ornaments or elaborate compositions of flora and fauna, executed either in monochrome, usually brownish or bluish purple and white, or in full color.

The second class of fabrics, much smaller in number, includes the silk weavings. It is clear that many of these were made as ornaments for clothing, designed to be cut out of the full piece and sewn to the garment. Some of the silks show over-all patterns. Presumably these were woven as yardage and meant to be fashioned into garments or possibly into household or ecclesiastical furnishings. Among these silks, particularly among those said to have been found at Antinoë in Egypt, there are many showing lozenge trellis patterns, a late survival, apparently, of the ornamental system so much favored by Greek textile designers of the fifth century B.C. Other silks show conventionalized plants or surprisingly realistic human figures.

Among the greatest of these late classical textiles are two pieces of extraordinarily fine tapestry weaving which were probably made as ornaments to be sewn to the neck opening of a tunic (Figs. 284, 285). Each piece consists of two medallions, both square in one case and one square and one octagonal in the other, connected by a pair of narrow bands. On one end of the smaller piece (Fig. 284), Ariadne is discovered by Dionysos on the island of Naxos. A bust of the same god, wearing a Bacchic head-dress, appears in the pendant square. Two necklaces of gems in gold settings, with every detail including the clasps clearly defined, decorate the connecting bands. The larger square of the other textile (Fig. 285) shows a group of Tritons, Nereids and Erotes disporting themselves in the sea. A sea-centaur, holding a rudder over his shoulder, swims in the pendant square. Though the subject matter has not been identified specifically, the larger scene probably represents a sea-thiasos associated with the cult of Dionysos. Exceptionally fine woolen and silk yarns form the pattern in these textiles, but it is the rich gold yarns (strips of gold foil wound on a silk core) which lend particular distinction. The figures have gold flesh and pink, green or gold hair, and they stand forth brilliantly against a deep purple ground sparkling with touches of pastel silk. These two textiles have been dated tentatively in the fifth century A.D. At present, it is not possible to determine their country of origin.

Another reflection of late classical painting is evident in one of the earliest and greatest triumphs of the drawloom (Fig. 286). It is a small fragment of reversible weft twill silk showing a shepherd with his dog guarding a flock of sheep. The figures, plants and trees are arranged to suggest a landscape setting. The weaver used only

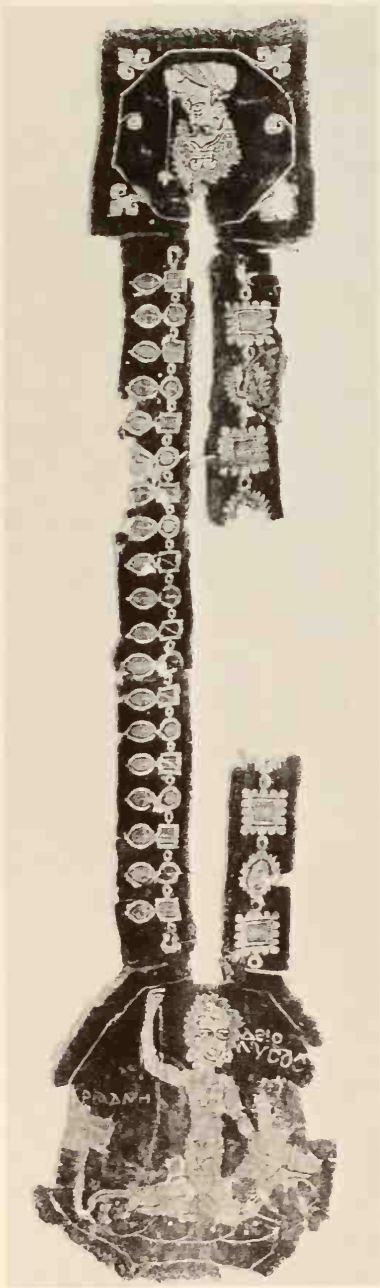
two colors for his design and while they now appear as beige and tan they may originally have been white and purple. Not only does the drawing suggest a date around the fifth century A.D. but also there is no evidence that the developed drawloom needed to weave this kind of pattern — so sophisticated that the design appears again on the reverse in the opposite colors — was used in the West in the first few centuries of our era. The patterned silks found at Palmyra and Dura-Europos (both terminal dates believed to fall in the third century) are probably of Chinese origin. The few pieces which might have been made in the Near East show rudimentary patterns which do not approach the shepherd silk in complexity. This textile may have been woven at Constantinople, at Antioch in Syria, or at Alexandria in Egypt, the three cities where the best silk weaving establishments of early Christian times are believed to have been located.

The large tapestry-woven fragment from a curtain or hanging, illustrated in Figure 287, is very different in character. Technically, the weaving relates this piece to many smaller and less important garment ornaments of a certain class. The pattern is tapestry-woven into a continuous linen cloth, the yarns of colored wool engaging certain linen yarns not functioning at those places in the ground weave. Curious inconsistencies of logic and design should be noted in this textile, for they give it a unique interest in this otherwise rather monotonous group of fabrics. While the drawing of the horizontal bands on the curtain successfully suggests vertical folds by means of a simple kind of perspective, an awkward attempt at placing the man behind the column at the left results in his appearing to dangle in mid-air. This combination of characteristic early medieval spatial ambiguity and of the finest late classical ornament and weaving lends the textile special importance as a transitional monument. While reasonable parallels for compositions of this kind are to be found in mosaics of the late fifth and sixth centuries at Rome and Ravenna, and while it is probable that this tapestry was woven at that period, it seems likely that the weaving was executed somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean world, perhaps in Syria.

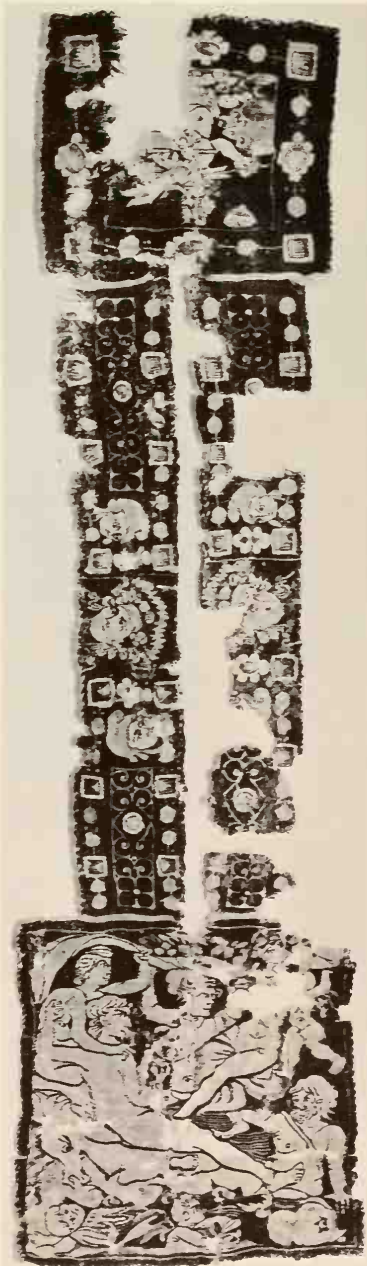
#### Captions for illustrations pp. 281-283

- 284. Tapestry-woven neck ornament, late Graeco-Roman, probably fifth century A.D. (46.402)
- 285. Tapestry-woven neck ornament, late Graeco-Roman, probably fifth century A.D. (46.401)
- 286. Reversible weft twill silk weaving, probably Syria or Egypt, fifth century A.D. (11.90)
- 287. Fragment of a tapestry-woven hanging, Eastern Mediterranean, late fifth-sixth century A.D. (57.180)





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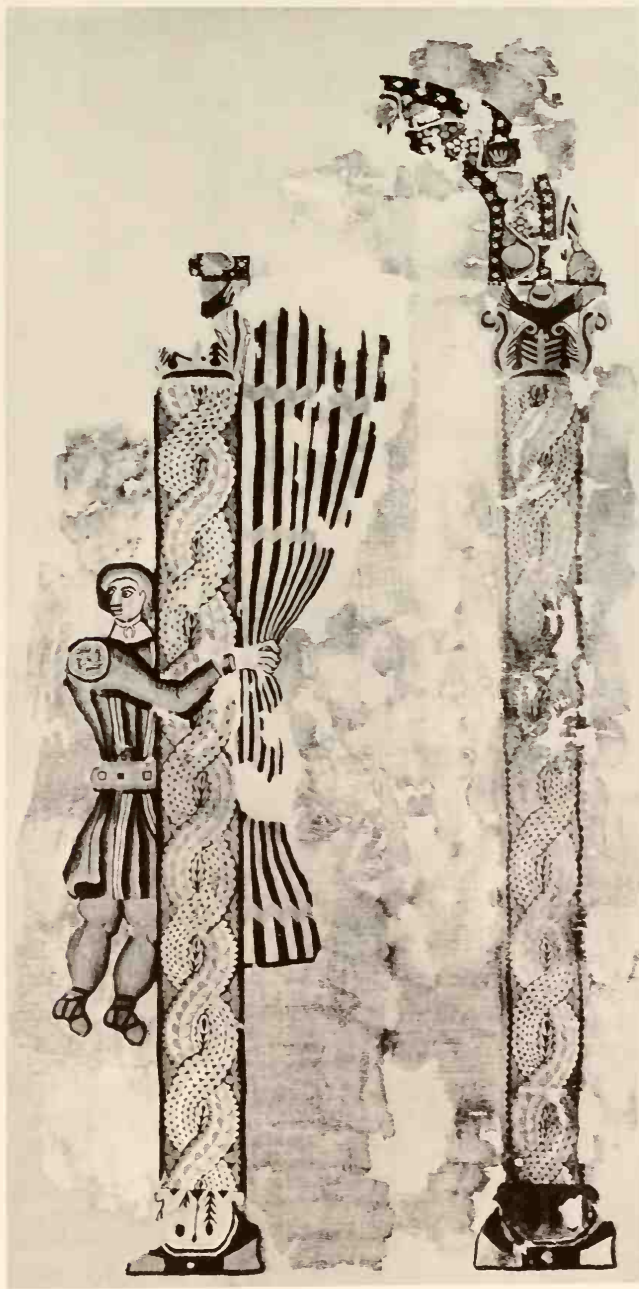
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